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# Brook Farm's Educational Philosophy (1841-1846): A Study Into Its Methods, Axiology and Epistemology

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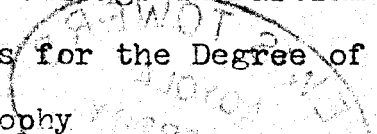
BROOK FARM'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (1841-1846):

A STUDY INTO ITS METHODS, AXIOLOGY  
AND EPISTEMOLOGY

by

Charles Edward Alberti

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate  
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy



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1975

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## VITA

The author, Charles Edward Alberti, is the son of Joseph J. Alberti and Gwen (Doering) Alberti. He was born July 14, 1945, in Chicago, Illinois.

His elementary education was obtained partly in the public schools of Chicago and partly in the Catholic school system. He attended St. Christina elementary school from the second to the eighth grade. His secondary education took place at Morgan Park High School on Chicago's far south side, where he graduated in 1964.

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He has presented papers to the Midwest History of Education Society and the Midwest Philosophy of Education Society.

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## CHAPTER I

### A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW (1800-1847)

#### The Problems of New England Society during the Nineteenth Century

##### Economic and Social

New England, like much of America at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had many of the popular social and economic evils of the day. These evils were categorized as African slavery, domestic slavery, exploitations of trade and commerce, and the evils associated with unpaid labor, vice and brutality.

In 1836, the United States witnessed a break down of the country's economic structure. Prior to this time the railroads had been expanding, beginning with the construction of the first in America during 1825; the cotton crop in the south had surpassed expectations; and real estate prices were going up. Foreign investors were pouring money into the United States until 1836 when many continental countries, like France, became involved in waves of liberal revolution. Based on their respective European situations the foreigners began to tighten their money and tapped the American reservoir withdrawing their capital.

To keep coin in the country, especially in matters of real estate transactions, the United States Treasury issued its specie circular on July eleventh, 1836, which ordered the government to take only cash payment and the notes of specie-paying banks for the sale of public lands.<sup>1</sup>

The western banks collapsed, not being able to meet the requirement. Panic spread, and in 1837 the powerful New York banks were forced to suspend specie payments due to the lack of real capital. The specie circular had been a U. S. executive order drafted by Senator Thomas Hart Benton and issued by President Andrew Jackson. The circular ordered that only gold and silver and so-called land scrip should be received in payment for lands. This executive order demonstrated that promises to pay money were not money and did not add to the wealth of the nation. The New England banks, entering into the speculation spree, followed the New York banks in collapse. Public confidence in the American businessman was shaken.

The effect of the depression that followed was especially felt by the laboring classes. The alms- and poor-houses were filled. Horace Greeley noted in his Recollections that:

The Winter of 1837-38, though happily mild and open

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<sup>1</sup>Edith Roelker Curtis, A Season in Utopia (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961), p. 31.

till far into January, was one of pervading destitution and suffering in our city, from paralysis of business and consequent dearth of employment. The liberality of those who could and would give was heavily taxed to save from famishing the tens of thousands who, being needy and unable to find employment, first ran into debt so far as they could, and henceforth must be helped or starve. . . . To say that ten thousand young persons here annually take their first lessons in debauchery and crime would be to keep quite within the truth; and, while passion, ignorance, and miseducation ruin their thousands, I judge that destitution flowing from involuntary idleness sends more men and women to perdition, in this city, than any other cause, -- intemperance possibly excepted. 2

There was a widespread demand for the Government to lift the people out of their difficulties, but the Government itself was in a perplexing economic situation. Coupled with the Government's economic problems was Van Buren's belief that the United States Government should not lift people out of the pits which they had dug with their own hands.

### Religious

Unitarianism, which was an off-shoot of Calvinism, was the predominant religion in New England. Unitarianism had reversed the thought process of Calvinism. Instead of debasing man to a cruel lowly creature, subject to a God of wrath, it professed to discover a loving Father in the human heart of love.

Unitarianism became a humanistic religion: rational, ethical, individual, yet with deep and warm social sympathies.

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<sup>2</sup>Horace Greeley, Recollections of a Busy Life (New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1868), p. 144.

The religion was the recovery of the original principle of New England Separatism, lost during the years of orthodox conformity.

While the Unitarians followed the Unitarian minister Dr. William Ellery Channing, in a liberalized religion, they followed a conservative direction in most everything else. Dr. Channing's "adoration of goodness" was restrained by Yankee thrift and the serious conservative concerns of practical business and getting on in the world. Thus the Unitarian faith tended to gather its supporters from the prosperous rather than the needy, from the Federalists rather than the Democrats.

The Unitarian congregations failed to express their religion when it came to running their competitive businesses. In addition, the cotton mills of New England indirectly aided in the continuation of slavery in the South. This aid was stimulated by the demand of New England textile mills on the supply of cotton from the South. Thus, although many New Englanders spoke against competition and slavery in their churches, they nevertheless supported these evils in their actions.

The Boston Unitarian was in some ways different from Unitarians in other countries. Abroad their ideas tended to be accompanied by radical movements. In Poland, for example, the Unitarians were pacifists, conscientious objectors, com-

munists and trouble-makers to the state.<sup>3</sup>

The Unitarians of Boston were not trouble-makers for the government. They had been successful in making a state church of their religion, were financially self-sustaining and were opposed to further changes.

New England Revolution in Contrast to  
the European Variety

While European revolutions tended to be physical and violent, the New England revolution was expressed and carried out by the literati in speeches, letters, magazines, journals, newspapers, and books. A peaceful, yet disturbing to many, revolution was taking place. The New England revolution came as a response to the social, economic, and religious problems of the times.

The New England revolution gave the characteristics of an American renaissance for there was the same fresh conscious activity, which had been displayed in Florence four-hundred years before. The New England imagination had been roused by the revival of ancient learning, the tales of travellers in commerce, the introduction of some modern thinking, and the excitements of religious controversy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1936), p. 106.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 111.



Pre-nineteenth century theology was being permutated by a theology that advocated freer thought. The educated as well as the unlearned and poor felt that the republic should stand foremost among the nations for justice, culture, and righteousness.<sup>5</sup> The reformers sought freedom for individual righteousness. "In rejecting their fathers' hell they became the more zealous to make a heaven of this world. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Massachusetts had discovered a road leading to what many felt to be Utopia by way of the industrial revolution. The static agricultural order, when challenged by the accompanying newer modes of living, caused a social disruption which was coupled with an intellectual disruption.

The rigid thought of New England, which had been under the watchful eye of theological conservatism, was in the process of being questioned. The deterministic theology of the Calvinists was especially open to question.

The New England ideology was expressed by a "flood of romantic speculation with its humanitarian emphasis on the potential excellence of man and the equality of human rights."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup>John Thomas Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs (Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1894), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Book 3 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), p. 274.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 271.

The influence of this ideology on the Puritanical nature of New England brought an intellectual and emotional unity that caused the New England revolution. The day of the middle class was dawning in New England. The hopes of men lay in the direction of humanizing society, furthering the cause of social justice and creating a democracy of the spirit -- a nationalistic unity.

Transcendentalism as a Solution  
to the Problems of New England

Development in America

The Transcendental notion of uplifting the intellectual, moral and physical condition was ready to be accepted by many Bostonian minds. While its origin has been thought to have come from Germany around 1830, its presence seems to have been indigenous to New England at some earlier time.

In early Boston, Transcendentalism ". . . was accepted under the form of antinomianism by John Cotton, Anne Hutchinson and Sir Henry Vane. By the Friends it was preached with eagerness, and it was nobly exemplified by William Penn."<sup>8</sup> While the Transcendental philosophy was indigenous to New England prior to 1830, I cannot discount the fact that the

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<sup>8</sup>George Willis Cooke, An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial, 2(Boston; 1902)1:1, as reported in a reprint, 2(New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1961)1:1.

documents which supported German idealism in Germany had an influence on New England Transcendentalism. Many of the ideas expressed by the New England revolution were drawn from German idealism as Transcendentalism was called in Germany. Two interesting notes associated with the literati's introduction of German idealism to New England society were that German Transcendental philosophy was held by cultivated men and was taught in the schools, but never affected society in its institutions or practical interests in Germany; and that this philosophy influenced poetry and art in Old England, but never touched the daily living of the population as a whole.<sup>9</sup>

#### Promotion of Transcendentalism by

#### Select Unitarian Ministers of New England

#### Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins

The Transcendental notion of uplifting the intellectual and moral condition of man had been readily accepted by many of the New England clergy. The famous New England clergyman, Jonathan Edwards, had ". . . maintained that Christian holiness is an inward and not an outward process, to be secured by direct contact of the soul with God."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, Transcendentalism in New England (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876), p. 105.

<sup>10</sup>Cooke, An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial, p. 2.

Samuel Hopkins, another New England theologian who was a disciple of Edwards, carried Edwards' teachings forward and made them effective in the new theological thought of New England.

The effect of Hopkins' teachings was made clear by the Boston Unitarian clergyman William Ellery Channing in a sermon preached by him in Newport, the home of Hopkins, Channing said:

In forming his [Hopkins'] religious opinions . . . he was superior to human authority; he broke away from human creeds; he interpreted God's word for himself; he revered reason, the oracle of God within him. He maintained that all holiness, all moral excellence consists in benevolence, or disinterested devotion to the greatest good; that this is the character of God; that love is the only principle of the divine administration. . . . True virtue, as he taught, was an entire surrender of personal interest to the benevolent purposes of God. He called us to seek our own happiness as well as that of others in a spirit of impartial benevolence; to do good to our selves, not from self-preference, not from the impulse of personal desires, but in obedience to that sublime law which requires us to promote the welfare of each and all within our influence. I need not be ashamed to confess the deep impression which this system made on my youthful mind, I am grateful to this stern teacher for turning my thoughts and heart to the claims and majesty of impartial universal benevolence.<sup>11</sup>

#### William Ellery Channing

The most idealistic features of the theology of Edwards and Hopkins were accepted by William Ellery Channing and prepared for him the idealism he afterwards found most congenial to his mind.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 5.    <sup>12</sup>Ibid.

Channing believed that man's mind was capable of continuous growth; thus he believed in the possibility of perfection in the course of human life. Dr. Channing owed much of his own spiritual philosophy to the English writer-philosopher Coleridge; little to Kant and later German scholars.<sup>13</sup>

"Channing's declaration of human independence signaled the breach between Augustinianism and mid-nineteenth-century Americanism and opened the New England dykes to the oncoming Transcendentalist surge."<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Channing's attention to the social evils of the day was considerable. The problems of the factory-system and the problems facing the poor could no longer be ignored; these problems forced themselves on the conscientious mind of Channing and other Bostonians.

Dr. Channing and his nephew, William Henry Channing, sought ways to destroy the worship of money; elevate the depressed classes; and remove the evils of competition. They tried to convince people that they were parts of a great whole, bound to work for the welfare of this whole; and promoted the union of labor and culture.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Channing, as could be seen in aftertimes, was the

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>14</sup>Bert James Loewenberg, American History in American Thought (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 240.

<sup>15</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 106.

Miss Peabody said that she knew of no name older than Dr. Channing's when it came to the Transcendental movement. She states that

. . . . , so early as 1820, he began to emancipate her mind from the materialistic teachings of Priestley; and from him she first learned the meaning of the word "transcendental," when he introduced her to a knowledge of Coleridge. 19

Channing's theology cautiously took shape from two ideas -- man's excellence and God's beneficence. Not from the hard shell of old Calvinism did he secure his ideas of humane life, but from French philosophy with emphasis on Rousseau, Saint-Simonism, Cousin, Joubert, Leroux and Fourier; and from English philosophy with emphasis on Coleridge. From the sturdy frame of the old religion came the heartiness of the social conscience.

#### Ralph Waldo Emerson

In 1832 Ralph Waldo Emerson, Unitarian minister, left his congregation at the Second Church of Boston, venturing to Europe to engage in inspiring conversations with Carlyle, Coleridge and Wordsworth and other Transcendental scholars.

In 1833 he returned, and in 1836 he published a brief pamphlet entitled Nature.<sup>20</sup> In the publication he proposed the inquiry -- "To what end is Nature?" He followed this

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<sup>19</sup>Cooke, An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 27.

with the assertions that: man is conscious of a Universal within or behind his individual consciousness, with the spirit being compelled to manifest itself through the reason in various forms; the Over-Soul (individual consciousness) is God working "through His own instruments" (mankind); the laws of Nature are a constant discipline to man; and the noblest ministry of Nature is to stand as the apparition of God.<sup>21</sup> As Curtis has said:

. . . Emerson preferred glimpses of truth to digested systems. The scientist, he said, too often became so absorbed in classification that he ignored the wonderful congruity which subsists between man and the world. For man's power lies in Instinct, which is superior to his Will. Man cannot be a Naturalist -- in the Transcendental interpretation -- until he satisfies all the demands of the Spirit: love, perception, and prayer.<sup>22</sup>

With Emerson's work on Nature the Unitarian ministers George Ripley, Orestes Brownson, and Theodore Parker rejoiced in what they believed would help to make the Unitarian religion more liberal.

Shortly after the pamphlet by Emerson had been published came the bicentennial of Harvard, which had been the curia of orthodox Unitarians. The views expressed by the conservative Unitarians at the celebration seemed outworn to the ears of the liberals. During the time of the celebration Emerson, Frederick Hedge, George Ripley, and George Putnam,

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

all liberal Unitarian ministers, had a casual meeting at Willard's Hotel at Harvard Square in Cambridge.<sup>23</sup> This meeting began a series of consultations, which after the bicentennial adjourned to Boston. At the home of George Ripley, in Boston, Emerson, Orestes Brownson, Bronson Alcott, Convers Francis and James Freeman Clarke held a meeting on September 19, 1836, to form a society of sorts for the exchange of ideas on all the important social and religious topics of the day.

#### Formation of the Transcendental Club

Those meeting at Ripley's were a group of idealists, enthusiasts, and advocates of all the social, political, and religious reforms that represented opposition to conservative views.

The group that met at Ripley's were sometimes called "The Transcendental Club", "The Symposium", or "Hedges Club". The latter name came from Frederick Hedge, who lived in Bangor, where he preached to the lumber-merchants as a Unitarian minister. His descent upon Boston resulted in calls for meetings due to his excellent ability in translating the German language. "Hedge, with Sampson Reed, the Boston druggist, had introduced Swedenborg's writings to his friends. In his snow-bound study in the north, he smoked and read his German."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Old Cambridge (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 268.



At the second meeting of the Club, Orestes A. Brownson and Cyrus A. Bartol joined the initial group; Theology was the theme of general interest. In 1837 Caleb Stetson, Thomas T. Stone, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Peabody were additions to the meetings.<sup>25</sup>

In his diary Amos Bronson Alcott included the names of William Henry Channing, John Sullivan Dwight, Jones Very, Henri David Thoreau, and Robert Bartlett as regular members of the club, while Dr. William Ellery Channing, Charles Follen, Samuel J. May, William Russell, George Bancroft, Christopher Pearse Cranch, S. G. Ward, Mrs. Samuel (Sarah) Ripley, Miss Elizabeth Hoar, Thomas T. Stone, George P. Bradford, Le Baron Russell and William D. Wilson were listed as occasional members.<sup>26</sup>

The philosophers were scattered, in or around Boston, so that meetings of the Club were difficult to arrange. Fortunately, Miss Elizabeth Peabody opened a foreign bookshop on West Street in August (of 1837); and the Transcendentalists quickly fell into the habit of dropping in there to browse, and to discuss the dawn of the 'New Day.' <sup>27</sup>

#### The Dial Becomes the Literary Organ of the Club

One of the most important results of the Club's activities was the publication of a quarter-annual literary magazine

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<sup>25</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, George Ripley (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1882), p. 54.

<sup>26</sup>Cooke, An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial, p. 53.

<sup>27</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 40.

entitled The Dial, which contained valuable contributions from individuals connected with the Transcendental movement.

I must mention that as early as 1835 such a journal was frequently discussed. The first mention of the undertaking appears in a letter from Emerson to Carlyle, dated March 12, 1835. In speaking of the influence of Dr. W. E. Channing, Emerson was quoted as having said:

He [Channing] lay awake all night, he told my friend last week because he had learned in the evening that some young men proposed to issue a journal, to be called 'The Transcendentalist,' as the organ of a spiritual philosophy . . . I intimated above that we aspire to have a work on the First Philosophy in Boston [sic -- Transcendentalism?] . . . Those that are forward in it debate upon the name. I doubt not in the least its reception if the material that should fill it existed. Through the thickest understanding will the reason throw itself instantly into relation with the truth that is its object, whenever that appears. 28

The journal received little attention until 1839 when it again was the subject of frequent discussion. The occasion for renewed interest in the publication was the appearance in London of The Monthly Magazine, started by John A. Heraud.<sup>29</sup> This latter publication was full of the idealistic spirit of the time with much reliance on the philosophic thought of Coleridge and the idealistic Germans.<sup>30</sup> Thus it was read with a great deal of delight by Alcott, Francis, Ripley and others.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Cooke, An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial, pp. 56-57.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 58.    <sup>30</sup>Ibid.    <sup>31</sup>Ibid.

In his diary on September 28, 1839, Alcott makes note of his thoughts concerning the publication of a Transcendental journal:

I had an agreeable talk with G. Ripley on the times, and particularly on my transatlantic friends. He is much taken with Heraud's journal, which he had read from January last. He wished to establish a journal of like character among ourselves. We need such an organ, but lack the ability to make it worthy of our position. There are but few contributors, and those not at all free from the influence of the past. . . . 32

On September 18, 1839 a meeting of the Transcendental Club was held at the house of C. A. Bartol. Margaret Fuller, being present, gave her views in regard to the establishment of such a journal.<sup>33</sup> Parker, Hedge, Ripley, Alcott, W. H. Channing were also present.<sup>34</sup>

By the arguments and insistence of Margaret Fuller and George Ripley, it was decided to publish a journal which would stand for the ideals of the group.<sup>35</sup> Alcott named the publication The Dial, which he had also called his diary.<sup>36</sup> His suggestion was accepted, and Margaret Fuller was appointed editor.<sup>37</sup> The first issue was planned for April, 1840,<sup>38</sup> but the time proved too short to get the necessary material

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 59.    <sup>33</sup>Ibid.    <sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 703.

<sup>36</sup>Cooke, An Historical and Biographical Introduction to Accompany the Dial.

<sup>37</sup>Mott, A History of American Magazines, pp. 703-704.

<sup>38</sup>Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Margaret Fuller Ossoli (Boston: American Men of Letters Series, 1885), p. 149.

together. Consequently the first issue came out in July of 1840.<sup>39</sup>

In 1841 Elizabeth Peabody became the publisher of The Dial.<sup>40</sup> Weeks Jordan, the former publisher, had to use all the subscription money for expenses, leaving nothing for salary.<sup>41</sup> Miss Fuller resigned her position within a short period of time, and Emerson reluctantly took over.<sup>42</sup>

Miss Peabody eventually gave up her position for the same reasons, and James Monroe became the publisher.<sup>43</sup> The Dial's last issue was in April of 1844. There were just enough subscriptions to keep it going, so long as all contributions and editorial work was on a voluntary basis.

#### George Ripley as Activist of the Club

The occasional meetings of the Club went on until late 1840 when Ripley, dissatisfied with his own attitude toward the office of the ministry, resigned his post and urged that some practical application be made of these fresh views of philosophy and life.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Mott, A History of American Magazines, p. 704.

<sup>40</sup>Louise Hall Tharp, The Peabody Sisters of Salem (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1950), p. 141.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.    <sup>42</sup>Ibid.    <sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>44</sup>Lindsay Swift, Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars and Visitors (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900), p. 9. Hereafter referred to as Brook Farm.

Ripley believed in the justice of God and the divine nature of man. He further believed that man was involved in an intricate and un-Christian social labyrinth.<sup>45</sup> So believing, Ripley set himself at work to develop a way to extricate at least some of humanity from their surroundings.

In his final address from the pulpit Ripley said that the spirit of God was no longer in the churches and that the creed of organized religion was little concerned with the poor and the downtrodden. He held that if he could not show in his life and works the hate of oppression of man by man, his value for moral worth as opposed to a mere outward condition, and his belief that indulgence of pride was a sin against the Holy Spirit, then he must take leave from his position as minister.<sup>46</sup>

Following Ripley's withdrawal from the pulpit, W. H. Channing took counsel with Ripley whether it were possible to bring cultivated, thoughtful people together, and make a society that deserved the name.<sup>47</sup>

Ripley planned to locate a farm where agriculture and education would be mixed and become the foundation of a new system of social life in whose labors everyone in the commun-

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<sup>45</sup>Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup>Katherine Burton, Paradise Planters (London: Green and Co., 1939), p. 25.

<sup>47</sup>Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs, p. 4.

ity took part. As a Unitarian he could not agree with the ecstasies of the millennialists; rather, he wanted man to attain his millennium on earth here and now.<sup>48</sup> "Towards all systems of socialism the Transcendentalists were instinctively hostile, as implying an industrial regimentation; and in planning Brook Farm, Ripley rejected industrialism and reduced regimentation to a minimum."<sup>49</sup>

In Ripley's plan for the development of his community, the following would be necessary: (1) the community should be formed to promote the great purpose of human culture more effectually; (2) it should apply the principles of justice and love to social organizations; (3) it should substitute brotherly cooperation for selfish competition; (4) it should prevent anxiety in men by a competent supplying to them of necessary wants; (5) it should guarantee each of its members the means of support.<sup>50</sup>

Ripley wanted men to be the same all week long. He knew this notion would be impossible as long as men lived in a competitive economic world. "Not until they could live on weekdays as they lived on Sundays would it be possible for man to achieve moral and social progress."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Victor Francis Calverton, Where Angels Dared to Tread (New York: Books for Libraries, 1941), p. 198.

<sup>49</sup>Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, p. 348.

<sup>50</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 26.

<sup>51</sup>Calverton, Where Angels Dared to Tread, p. 109.

Perhaps the idea of such a community came from the work of Pestalozzi at Neuhof, since Ripley was familiar with his educational practices, but certainly Channing, Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth Peabody (who felt that it might be possible to promote the idea of the millennium by the instruction of the adults as well as the young) were direct influences.

### Formation of Brook Farm

In the summer of 1840 George and Sophia Ripley boarded on a milk farm (the Ellis farm) in West Roxbury. The Farm was approximately nine miles from Boston. In addition the Ripleys had spent the previous summer there in order to be near Theodore Parker, pastor of the Spring Street Church, approximately two miles away.<sup>52</sup> Parker was the reformer who urged and defended the causes of humanity.

In A Gazetteer of Massachusetts issued in 1847 West Roxbury was described in the following manner:

This city is joined to Boston by a neck of land, over which are broad and pleasant avenues. Between the center of each city is about three miles. The surface is rocky and uneven, with a strong soil, in a high state of cultivation. It displays a great degree of agricultural taste and skill, and abounds in country-seats and pleasure grounds. Roxbury was incorporated as a city March 12, 1846. The first hourly coach from Boston commenced running to this town in 1827. The manufactures of Roxbury consist of leather, nails, hats,

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<sup>52</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 36.

chairs, cabinet-ware, pig iron, and a great number of other articles. . . . The population of the town in 1845 was 13,929.<sup>53</sup>

### Ripley's Proposed Ideals for Brook Farm

Upon leaving the farm during their summer vacation of 1840 the Ripleys felt as if they had found the place to carry out what had become their greatest desire, that is,

to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than existed; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor adapted to their industry; to do away with the necessity of menial services by opening the benefits of education and the profits of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions.<sup>54</sup>

### Ripley's Communication with Emerson

In 1840 Ripley had written a letter to Emerson in which he explained his plan for the farm community. He and his wife planned to purchase the Ellis farm on which a garden and farm would be adequate to the subsistence of the families. A school or college would go into operation, which would give the most complete instruction available. To raise an estimated \$30,000 that Ripley felt would be necessary for the first year's expenses to cover the land and buildings for ten

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<sup>53</sup>John Hayward, A Gazetter of Massachusetts (Boston: John Hayward, 1847), pp. 254-256.

<sup>54</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 16.



families, he decided to sell \$500 shares with a guaranteed five per-cent interest. Each share-holder was entitled to the tuition of one pupil for every share of stock held, instead of his interest or tuition.<sup>55</sup>

In this letter to Emerson, Ripley added: "I should have a City of God, on a small scale of my own; and please God, I should hope one day to drive my own cart to market and sell greens."<sup>56</sup> The statement tends to reflect a romantic notion of what it was like to be a farmer and be identifiable with Nature. It took Emerson five weeks to reply.

In the interim Emerson wrote to Margaret Fuller indicating his feelings towards Ripley's letter: "I have not quite decided not to go. But I hate that the least weight would hang on my decision."<sup>57</sup>

By mid-December George Ripley's "coadjutors" had become numerous, and Emerson realized with deep relief that his own defection would not halt the enterprise.<sup>58</sup>

Although Emerson had talked favorably of the idea of such a community, he declined to join the venture when it came to the practical test.<sup>59</sup> This decline was somewhat awkward, since a short time before, Emerson had approached Ripley

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>56</sup> Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 50.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. <sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Anna M. Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," Catholic World 73(1901):19.

about the beneficial spiritual attitude that might be gained from hard labor on a farm. In May, 1839, Emerson had written in his Journal:

I think we ought to have bodily labor, each man. Why else this rapid impoverishing which brings every man to the presence of the fact that bread is by the sweat of the face, and why this continual necessity in which we all stand of bodily labor, . . . Labor makes solitude and makes society. It kills foppery, shattered nerves, and all kinds of emptiness. It makes life solid.<sup>60</sup>

### The Purchase of the Ellis Farm and Taking Charge

The farm was purchased by the Ripley's from Charles and Maria M. Ellis, and according to the deed, dated October 11, 1841, contained "about one hundred and seventy acres of land in that part of the town of Roxbury which has lately set off from Newton, and on the westerly side of the road from Dedham to Watertown."<sup>61</sup>

In the first week of April, 1841 a few cultivated Bostonians ventured to the roomy homestead in West Roxbury. Along with George Ripley came his wife Sophia (Willard); George's elder sister, Miss Marianne Ripley; George P. Bradford; Mr. Warren Burton; Nathaniel Hawthorne; the Minot Pratts and their three young children (Pratt had been a printer in

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<sup>60</sup>Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Harrison Hayford, 10 vols. (Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969) 7:204-205.

<sup>61</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 19.

the office of the Christian Register): Elise Barker, (a housewife): and William Brockway Allen, (a young man from Vermont who had managed a farm for the nonconformist Unitarian preacher, Theodore Parker.)<sup>62</sup>

"Cooperation", "equality" and "independence" were key words upon which the constitution of the community was built. To establish external relations of life upon the basis of wisdom and purity and to apply the principles of justice and love to their social organization were central themes.

The main object of the Brook Farm association was to realize the Christian ideal of life by making such industrial, social, and educational arrangements as would promote economy, combine leisure for study with healthful and honest work, equalize positions and avert collisions of caste.

The cooperative spirit of the community was in strict contradistinction with the mores of competitive American society. The principles of justice and love applied to social organization were the standards of the Farm.

According to the articles of agreement of the Brook Farm constitution, their desire was to combine the thinker and the worker, to guarantee the highest mental freedom and to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent and cultivated persons whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than could be led amid the pressures

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<sup>62</sup> Edith Roelker Curtis, "A Season in Utopia," American Heritage 10(April, 1959):59.

of competitive institutions.

### Brook Farm Ideals in View of Other Communities of the Time

There were some thirty or forty similar communities that developed within a short span of time throughout the United States. The movement that was the source of inspiration for most of these experimental communities was Robert Owen's unsuccessful New Harmony community in Indiana, which had been founded on the same principles as his successful community at New Lanark in Scotland.<sup>63</sup> Owen's reputation as a businessman was influential in spreading his ideas through several communities that were founded in the U. S.

The New Harmony experiment was the first purely secular form of Communitarianism to develop in the United States.<sup>64</sup> The secularization of the Communitarian ideal became a model in 1840 when the Ripleys were in the process of planning Brook Farm.

Boston people had talked of "the New Harmony to be established in West Roxbury."<sup>65</sup> The Ripley's, however, were not contemplating an imitation of Owen's New Harmony. When it came to be, the only foreign influence was that of detached god-parents -- the Transcendental philosophers of Europe.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 47.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.    <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 48.    <sup>66</sup>Ibid.

## Members and Their Relation to the Association

The society at Brook Farm was a heterogeneous grouping of scholars, young farmers, seam-stresses, mechanics, and preachers representing a cross-section of lazy, industrious, conceited, sentimental, zealous personages. There was, however, "plenty of steady, essential, hard work for the founding of an earthly paradise upon a rough New England farm.

... "67

Brook Farm was an association at the outset, not a community. "The members were not called upon to divide their worldly possessions among their associates, but all contributed such portion as they thought they could afford towards the support of the institution."<sup>68</sup> All met on an equality basis. Each applicant for admittance was received on a probationary status after the initial settlement. As Amelia E. Russell points out:

I think three months was the time designated, and then the established members met in council and discussed the merits of the applicants, and whether their admission would be beneficial to the association. A vote was then taken, and if I remember rightly two thirds were necessary for an affirmation.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>George Willis Cooke, Early Letters of George Wm. Curtis to John S. Dwight (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1898), p. 9.

<sup>68</sup>Amelia E. Russell, Home Life of the Brook Farm Association (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1900), pp. 12-13.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

Three main groups had been organized by mid-summer of 1841 -- the Field, the Mechanical, and the Domestic.<sup>70</sup> Each group was subdivided into units of three or more individuals; always a "harmonic" or uneven number, so a vote could be taken if needed.<sup>71</sup>

The Field group included planting, plowing, hoeing, weeding, and nursery work. The Mechanical was composed of a carpenter, printer, shoemaker, and a chinaware unit, known as the "Britannia Group." The Domestic group subdivided into dormitory, consistory, kitchen, washing, ironing, and mending units.

The famous Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was one of the initial settlers of Brook Farm, had little zeal for social reform. He invested \$1,000 in Brook Farm with the expectation that membership in the community would enable him to marry Sophia Peabody. Sophia's sister Mary came in time to marry Horace Mann.

Hawthorne had thought he would have a great deal of time to devote to his writing at the Farm. This was not the case. The work was so strenuous that Hawthorne often felt too tired to write. After about a year's labor Hawthorne left the Farm.

Some of the associates did not work. They were charged \$4.00 board a week, which included fuel, light and laundry. Children of associates, over ten years of age could board at

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

half rate, but the parents of younger children had to pay \$3.50 weekly.

Theodore Parker's farmer, William Allen, had been deeply interested in the idea of association.<sup>72</sup> Ora Gannett Sedgwick observed that Allen along with his wife, Sylvia, and his brother and his wife among the efficient workers.<sup>73</sup> It was necessary for them to be so if the Farm were to be selfsustaining. Amerlia Russell writes: "Our head farmer was indeed the only person on the place who really understood what farming should be, and I know that he did all that was in his power to make it profitable for the association."<sup>74</sup>

#### The Buildings at Brook Farm

In a vivid recollection of the Farm Frederick Pratt, some sixty years later, wrote:

Early in 1840, my fathers [sic] joined the Community, as it was then called, and were among the first to reach the new home in West Roxbury. There was then but one House, afterwards called the "Hive", and in that house we lived all the time we were there, some five years -- There were only 10 or 15 persons in the community when we came, but they rapidly increased, and in a year or two the family increased to 80 or 90 persons; more than half members of the association, the rest scholars and boarders. Three new houses were built, the Eyrie, the Pilgrim House, and the Cottage which were only used as living rooms, the eating and washing and other household duties being al-

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<sup>72</sup>Ora Gannett Sedgwick, "A Girl of Sixteen at Brook Farm," Atlantic Monthly (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900), p. 396.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Russell, Home Life of the Brook Farm Association, p. 51.

ways carried on at the old house, called the Hive.<sup>75</sup>

The Pilgrim House was built by Ichabod Morton, who planned to occupy it with his family from Plymouth.<sup>76</sup> After a brief stay of two weeks, he returned to Plymouth, and the dwelling passed into the hands of the Association.

In 1844 the editorial office of the Harbinger, a Fourieristic publication, took quarters in the Pilgrim House.<sup>77</sup> Mr. A. G. Alvord built the Cottage. The schoolrooms for the younger children were transferred into this building from the Hive. The Eyrie housed dormitories, a library and a parlor that became John S. Dwight's classroom for musical instruction.

#### Visitors to Brook Farm

Although Brook Farm only lasted for a period of six years, the visitors were many. The arrival of Emerson or Margaret Fuller as occasional visitors always represented a signal for the young and old to come together to hear the words of the major or the minor prophet of Transcendentalism.<sup>78</sup>

The Brook Farm girls considered it a privilege to serve

<sup>75</sup>Frederick Pratt, "Account of Brook Farm" (unpublished manuscript, Fruitlands Museums Archives, n.d.), p. 1.

<sup>76</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 33.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>John B. Wilson, "Brook Farm: Seedbed of Education," School and Society 94 (New York: Society for the Advancement of Education, 1966):45.



Margaret Fuller in bed, since she was thought to be the most learned woman in America. Mr. Emerson was less popular in that the young sensed his disapproval of their New Freedom and suspected that he had come to look for signs of fast living rather than to witness the Ripleys' benign social reform.<sup>79</sup>

### Sources of Brook Farm Income

The school was oftentimes the only source of income for the community. Ripley's school was one of the most advanced at that time. In many respects it anticipated the ideas and techniques of the progressive education movement in this country.<sup>80</sup>

On the more practical side, it was a fact that Brook Farm products found a good sale in Boston and Roxbury markets. The only trouble being that they could not raise enough to make a substantial profit. While other farmers threw their potatoes in the bottom of wagons, tossed apples into smelly boxes, and put berries into battered pails; the Brook Farmers put theirs in neat parcels, graded it for size, cleaned greens of earth and sold their fresh attractive products with little trouble.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Curtis, American Heritage, p. 63.

<sup>80</sup>Frothingham, Transcendentalism in New England, pp. 308-331.

<sup>81</sup>Curtis, American Heritage, p. 67.

Fourierism as a Solution to Financial Difficulty  
at Brook Farm

Economic problems continued to plague the Brook Farm experiment. While the school seemed to hold its own, the Farm itself did not yield enough food to support the seventy or so inhabitants. Many members thought that there was not enough organization within the workings of the Farm.

The community had had little acquaintance with the writings of Charles Fourier, the French social reformer. When the Farmers did become acquainted with Fourier's ideas, especially his ideas of industry made attractive by organized labor, and its relation to the higher standard of work and liberal belief they had adopted and maintained thus far, it caught on like wild-fire.

The apostle of Fourierism in this country was Albert Brisbane, a member of the Farm. In 1840 Brisbane's The Social Destiny of Man was published. Curtis remarked that Brisbane's work "would gradually transform Brook Farm into a 'Phalanx' -- citadel of the philosophy of the French social reformer, Francois Marie Charles Fourier."<sup>82</sup>

The Ripleys, in 1842 were as reserved in their stand on Fourierism, as was Miss Peabody when she wrote:

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<sup>82</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 48.

Brisbane had made a plan worthy of study in some of its features, but erring in the same manner . . . Fourier does not go down into a sufficient spiritual depth to lay foundations which may support his superstructure. Our imagination before we reflect, no less than our reason after reflection, rebels against this attempt to circumvent moral freedom and imprison it in his Phalanx . . . Yet we would speak with no scorn of a work which seems to have sprung from a true benevolence, and has in it such valuable thought. It is in his chapters on the education and uses of children that we especially feel his inadequacy to his work. But he forestalls harsh criticism by throwing out what he says as a feeler after something better. As such it has worth.<sup>83</sup>

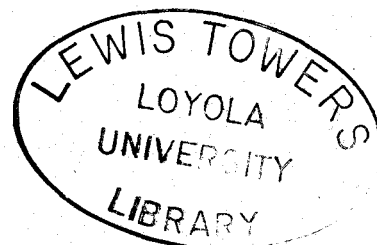
Fourier's ideas took hold when Brisbane persuaded Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune to give him space for a column. With Brook Farm having difficulty in supporting itself, Brisbane and Greeley saw an opportunity to instill some new ideas. "Both insisted that Fourier's Theory of Attractive Industry -- that each person works better when the work is congenial and the program varied -- would prove an infallible panacea for the directors' financial worries."<sup>84</sup>

This theory did not present a problem to Ripley due to the fact that it sounded much like the association's "Union of Labor and Culture." Another of the most notable features of Fourierism, as applied to social organization, was the division of labor according to "Groups" and "Series." Brisbane defined these two terms in his Social Destiny of Man when he stated that:

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>84</sup>Curtis, American Heritage, p. 63.



A Group . . . is an assemblage of persons, three, seven, twelve or more . . . a mass leagued together from identity of taste for the exercise of some branch of Industry, Science or Art . . . the Series are composed of a number of Groups . . . A Serie should contain at least five Groups.<sup>85</sup>

#### Change of Brook Farm to a Phalanx and Fourierism

John S. Dwight and his sister Marianne, both of whom taught in the school at Brook Farm, were also members of the executive council which shaped the policies of the institution. A letter from the Philadelphia attorney, James Kay, dated March 14, 1845 deals with Brook Farm's change to a "Phalanx" and the new constitution of the community which was adopted on May 1, 1845. In the letter Kay states:

. . . adoption of the reported Constitution . . . is only one of a series of progressive reforms which will thereby be rendered both necessary and attainable. The fundamental law of your Phalanx cannot remain stationary; it must move onwards in even pace with the advancing science and experience of the body . . . .

I am glad to believe, from what you say, that there is not much doubt of the adoption of the new constitution with or without your amendments . . . Our associate Theophilus thinks that you have produced about the finest state paper in the Annals of Association . . . .

My future for Brook Farm is development -- slow, even imperceptibly slow -- a quiet, silent, unobtrusive, enduring, waiting on God -- Thus will the process of crystallization complete itself . . . I write with great haste; as I hope to send this sheet tomorrow by Mr. Robert Owen, who will probably deliver it to you in person.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Albert Brisbane, Social Destiny of Man (Philadelphia: C. F. Stollmeyer, 1840), pp. 115-118.

<sup>86</sup>Clarence Gohdes, "Three Letters by James Kay Dealing with Brook Farm," Philological Quarterly 17(Oct., 1938):379-380.

On January 18, 1844 the new constitution had been drawn up which converted "The Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education" into "The Brook Farm Association for Industry and Education," which made provision for a system of Groups and Series based upon the writings of Fourier. In May of that year the new plan went into effect and lasted for twelve months at which time a third constitution was drafted which turned the community into "The Brook Farm Phalanx."<sup>87</sup> In March, 1845 the Massachusetts Legislature reincorporated Brook Farm as a "Phalanx," which was Fourier's term for his highly integrated community.

#### Carrying Fourier's Message

The transition to Fourierism did not effect a great change in the plan of organization of the settlement. One new feature was the publication of the Harbinger in 1844, which was transferred to the Farm. Brook Farm became the center of Fourieristic propaganda.<sup>87</sup> In addition, the Brook Farmers promoted the cause of Fourierism by sending out Dana, Allen and Orvis "to preach the blessings of Association to the outside world."<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Morris Hillquit, History of Socialism in the United States (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1965), p. 99.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

## Brook Farm as Transitory Paradise

The names and faces appear to have changed quite frequently between the constitutions of the Farm. In a letter of May 10, 1844, Ora Gannett writing from the Farm to Isaac Hecker, a former student of the Farm, says:

Sister May has returned from Brook Farm to live with us again. She will add very much to the pleasure of home. I thought of going back to the Community this spring -- but now do not feel the inclination to do so. May tells me you have been there lately. Does it seem as pleasant as it used to? It does not to me. I really felt bad last time I was there to see no familiar faces -- I doubt much too if many of the new persons are the right ones for "Association."<sup>89</sup>

## Destruction of the Phalanstery

The difficulty in adjusting Brook Farm's foundation to Fourier's plans was that the association did not have a sufficiently large membership at any one time, nor did the community have the capital in reserve to develop the central Phalanstery called for in Fourier's plans without worry of financial loss. The Phalanstery was the biggest job undertaken by the community and it taxed all available resources. Near completion it burned down. The loss bankrupted Brook Farm.<sup>90</sup> With no money left the socialistic organization at

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<sup>89</sup> Ora Gannett to Isaac Hecker, 10 May 1844, Paulist Fathers' Archives, New York. (The author is grateful to The Paulist Fathers for these unpublished materials.)

<sup>90</sup> John Van Der Zee Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm (New York: Desmond FitzGerald, Inc., 1912), p. 171.

Brook Farm had to be abandoned. George Ripley eventually paid back everyone the amount due them.

### Brook Farm in Perspective

John Van Der Zee Sears, a former pupil of the Farm, writes:

. . . the Socialistic movement could not possibly have been carried to ultimate success. The world was not ready to accept Fourier's theories far enough to abandon civilization and live the Simple Life. The era of the millennium had not arrived.<sup>91</sup>

George P. Bradford writing sometime later said:

And some there are who still revere all the dreams of their youth, not only those that led them there, but those also that hovered around them while there, and gave a color of romance to their life, and some of whom perhaps still cherish the hope that in some form or mode of association or of cooperative industry may be found a more equal distribution of the advantages, privileges, and culture of society; some mitigation of its great and painful inequalities; a remedy, or at least an abatement, of its evils and sufferings.<sup>92</sup>

The destruction of the Phalanstery also meant new lives for its dispersed members who, writing in post-Brook Farm days, held it to be the most rewarding experience of their lives.

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>Sedgwick, Atlantic Monthly, p. 403.

## CHAPTER II

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SELECT BROOK FARMERS AND FREQUENT VISITORS

As the title of this chapter suggests, the importance of visitors to Brook Farm is as essential to this study as are the lives of those who joined in membership. Appendix A provides additional names and biographical sketches of members and visitors -- but represents those who did not significantly contribute to Brook Farm. Those names listed with little or no information following appear to be of lesser importance in the movement since material about them is scarce or non-existent.

I have taken the liberty of placing names of the Farmers and Visitors in an alphabetical progression so that an individual mentioned in any chapter might have his life and importance to the Brook Farm movement available to the reader in a quick biographical sketch.

I would warn the reader that those who visited the Farm naturally tended to be more objective about the success and shortcomings of the experiment than many who remained at the Farm. This objectivity was made possible by the fact that the commitment of visitors was not as entrenched as that of the members. This chapter, then, is the story in biographical form of that commitment or lack thereof demonstrated



by the Farmers and the Brook Farm Visitors.

John Allen

Rev. John Allen was a Universalist who left his pulpit because his congregation would not let him preach against slavery. This restriction to preach was not because his congregation believed in slavery but rather because they found his constant dwelling on the subject annoying.<sup>1</sup>

Allen arrived in the period of Brisbanized Fourierism at Brook Farm. He joined John Orvis in lecturing on the theme of Association -- a Fourieristic term whose definition is: a group of people of like ideals coming together. Allen and Orvis also lectured on Brook Farm.<sup>2</sup> He and Orvis did much of this lecturing away from the Farm and thus spread the beliefs of those at the West Roxbury community.

At Lowell, in 1844, Allen called a meeting which was presided over by Lewis Ryckman.<sup>3</sup> Out of this summons came the New England Workingmen's Association, which sought the establishment of a ten-hour working day to be secured through legislation.<sup>4</sup> Allen's importance to the Brook Farm movement appears limited to his expertise as lecturer.

Allen received notoriety when it was realized that he

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<sup>1</sup>Lindsay Swift, Brook Farm (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900), p. 181.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 182.    <sup>3</sup>Ibid.    <sup>4</sup>Ibid.

was responsible for the small-pox epidemic that struck the Farm. Allen had a son whom he left with Mrs. George C. Leach, an aunt and former inhabitant of the Farm, while he was away on lecture tours. Due to John Allen's disbelief in vaccinations his son (while staying at the Leaches) contracted the dreaded disease from a servant employed at the Grahamite hotel.<sup>5</sup> George C. Leach and his wife along with John Allen did not know of the boy's situation until Allen returned him to the Farm in September of 1845.<sup>6</sup> Over thirty cases of small-pox appeared. The Cottage was turned into a hospital. Visitors to the Farm were very scarce at this time even though there were no fatal cases.<sup>7</sup> Allen was thus responsible for an event which affected the Farmers' situation for a time.

#### Almira Barlow

With her three sons, Francis, Edward, and Richard, Mrs. Almira Barlow sought a haven at Brook Farm.<sup>8</sup> Her husband, David Hatch Barlow, had graduated the first scholar in the Harvard Class of 1824, a year behind George Ripley's similar triumph. David did not join his family at the Hive. He had disappeared, and Almira gave the Ripleys to understand

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 183.    <sup>6</sup>Ibid.    <sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Edith Roelker Curtis, A Season in Utopia (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961), p. 64.

that David had "gone to pieces," a polite way of saying that he had become a drunkard.<sup>9</sup>

In their diaries and recollections the Brook Farm ladies paid Mrs. Barlow little tribute.<sup>10</sup> While the other ladies toiled over washtubs, "Mrs. Barlow sat in her parlor, a veritable Queen Bee among workers."<sup>11</sup>

George Partridge Bradford

1807-1890

George Partridge Bradford was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, on February 16, 1807 and died January 26, 1890. His father was Captain Gamaliel Bradford, who had fought in the Revolutionary War, and his mother was Elizabeth (Hickling) Bradford.<sup>12</sup>

In 1825 George Bradford graduated from Harvard and three years later graduated from the Divinity School.<sup>13</sup> He joined the Brook Farm experiment in its early stages after having dabbled in several educational enterprises.<sup>14</sup>

Bradford had fed on Greek and Latin along with early English while at Harvard; and had been previously trained in the classics by his sister, Mrs. Sarah Ripley.<sup>15</sup> It seems

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.    <sup>10</sup>Ibid.    <sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Howard Haycraft and Stanley J. Kunitz, eds., American Authors: 1600-1900 (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1968), pp. 92-93.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.    <sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 188.

somewhat natural that upon joining the Farm he should lean towards teaching, and join the department of Belle Lettres.<sup>16</sup>

Although Bradford thoughtwell of Fourier's principles initially, he did not stay with their instillation. "He had before intimated that he could not cordially approve the Association's attitude toward the outside world, and that the 'idea' did not seem quite so acceptable to him as he had hoped . . . ." <sup>17</sup>

"Selections from Fenelon," and a chapter on "Philosophic Thought in Boston" for Justin Winsor's Memorial History of Boston were his outstanding literary works after his departure from the Farm.<sup>18</sup>

Writing in Harper's Monthly for May, 1890, his former friend and pupil, George William Curtis, said of Bradford:

The recollection of George Bradford is that of a long life as serene and happy as it was blameless and delightful to others. It was a life of affection and many interests and friendly devotion; but it was not that of a recluse scholar like Edward Fitzgerald, with the pensive consciousness of something desired but undone. George Bradford was in full sympathy with the best spirit of his time. He had all the distinctive American interest in public affairs. His conscience was as sensitive to public wrongs and perilous tendencies as to private and personal conduct. He voted with strong convictions, and wondered sometimes that the course so plain to him was not equally plain to others.

It was a life with nothing of what we call achievement,

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<sup>16</sup>John Thomas Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs (Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1894), p. 80.

<sup>17</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 192.

<sup>18</sup>Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, pp. 92-93.

and yet a life beneficent to every other life that it touched, like a summer wind laden with a thousand invisible seeds that, dropping everywhere, spring up into flowers and fruits. It is a name which to most readers of these words is wholly unknown, and which will not be written, like that of so many of the friends of him who bore it, in our literature and upon the memory of his countrymen. But to those who knew him well, and who therefore loved him, it recalls the most essential human worth and purest charm of character, the truest manhood, the most affectionate fidelity. To those who hear of him now, and perhaps never again, these words may suggest that the personal influences which most envelop and sweeten life may escape fame, but live immortal in the best part of other lives.<sup>19</sup>

### Albert Brisbane

1809-1890     ◆

Albert Brisbane was born on August 22, 1809 in Batavia, New York of James and Mary (Stevens) Brisbane.<sup>20</sup>

His mother was responsible for a great part of his early education, placing emphasis on history and the sciences. When he was about fifteen years of age he was moved to New York City where he studied under several tutors, the most important being John Monesca, whose teaching and social philosophy made a great impression on young Brisbane.<sup>21</sup> Brisbane was impressed by what he believed to be the unnecessary sufferings of humanity.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>George William Curtis, "George Partridge Bradford," Harper's Monthly (May, 1890).

<sup>20</sup>Dictionary of American Biography, 4th ed., s.v. "Brisbane, Albert." Hereafter referred to as DAB.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 271.

Before the age of fifteen Brisbane began to consider the social destiny of man. At eighteen years of age he left New York for Paris to study for a time under Cousin and Guizot.<sup>23</sup>

Somewhat disappointed with the French thinkers, he went to Berlin where he studied social philosophy under Hegel.<sup>24</sup> His disappointment with Hegel is conveyed when he says, "I found in Hegel and among his disciples no idea of a higher social order than the European civilization."<sup>25</sup>

Shortly after the Revolution of 1830, he returned to Paris convinced that the human misery he had witnessed could be abandoned only by a reconstruction of society.<sup>26</sup>

In Paris he had the occasion to read Traite de l'Association Domestique-Agricole (1821-22) by Charles Fourier which had a direct effect on him.<sup>27</sup> Brisbane said, after reading Fourier's work:

Now for the first time I had come across an idea of dignifying and rendering attractive the manual labors of mankind. . . . I have found a hypothesis which explained what I had been seeking to discover -- a just and wise organization of human society.<sup>28</sup>

Brisbane studied under Fourier for two years, returning to the United States in 1834 with the belief that the general acceptance of Fourier's theories would result in

<sup>23</sup>DAB, s.v., "Brisbane, Albert."

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Redelia Brisbane, Albert Brisbane: A Mental Biography (Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1893), p. 96.

<sup>26</sup>DAB, s.v., "Brisbane, Albert."

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.    <sup>28</sup>Ibid.

"the social redemption of the collective man."<sup>29</sup>

His enthusiasm expressed itself in his Social Destiny of Man, sometimes referred to as Association and Reorganization of Industry. It was published in 1840, when he was about thirty years old. It was followed in 1843 by A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association. Both these works were an exposition of Fourierism.

The ideas present in these works with the addition of speeches by disciples such as Brisbane brought about some forty small and inadequately financed experiments in practical associationism. The results were disastrous, convincing Brisbane of the lack of wisdom of "too hasty propaganda."<sup>30</sup>

It appears that William H. Channing had more of an initial influence on the conversion to Fourierism by the Brook Farmers than did Brisbane. Brisbane himself never lived at Brook Farm but was only counted among the visitors.<sup>31</sup> His closest interests appear to have been centered on the North American Phalanx, which was established by a number of New Yorkers at Red Bank in New Jersey in April, 1843.<sup>32</sup> Brisbane, however, remained in New York to carry on his agitation, again not living at the site of the experiment.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.    <sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Zoltan Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm (Boston: Trustees of the Boston Public Library, 1937), p. 30.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.    <sup>33</sup>Ibid.

Horace Greeley, editor of the Tribune, was Brisbane's first important proselyte.<sup>34</sup> He offered Brisbane the use of the New York Tribune for spreading Fourier's ideas.<sup>35</sup> Greeley did not indorse Fourierism but did encourage it.<sup>36</sup> "As for Brisbane, he was forever warning the young people that only Fourierism could save mankind . . . ." <sup>37</sup> His writing skills and lectureship abilities promoted the conversion to Fourierism by the Brook Farmers.

Warren Burton

1800-1866

Warren Burton was born at Wilton, New Hampshire, on November 23, 1800, of Jonathan and Persis (Warren).<sup>38</sup>

Burton was raised by his grandparents when his mother died -- while he was at an early age. With no additional schooling, he prepared by private study and with some additional help from a minister to enter Harvard (1817).<sup>39</sup> Four years later he graduated with distinction.

After an apprenticeship in schoolkeeping, he entered the theological school at Cambridge where he was ordained three years later.

<sup>34</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 273.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.    <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>37</sup>Edith Roelker Curtis, "A Season in Utopia," American Heritage 10(April, 1959):99.

<sup>38</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Burton, Warren."

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.



At first he was in the Unitarian ministry; in later life he became a Swedenborgian.<sup>40</sup> He identified himself with the movements of his day, namely Transcendentalism, phrenology and Pestalozzianism.<sup>41</sup>

There is very little recorded of his community life at Brook Farm beyond the fact he came in the spring of 1841 and was gone in the spring of 1844. It is a debatable issue as to whether his Brook Farm experience was an influence on his later life, but well worth considering nonetheless. Education he saw as the chief means of effecting the reforms desired in society. "It was to improve society in general, the home and the school in particular, that most of his lectures, books, and periodical articles were prepared."<sup>42</sup>

The influence of Burton was widespread, due in part to the circulation of his major works, Helps to Education and The District School as it Was.<sup>43</sup> The former gave practical suggestions to parents in light of their responsibilities and opportunities. The latter attracted many to a knowledge of their community schools. Burton, an early promoter of the parent-teacher association, was convinced that "all the improvements in schools and modes of teaching" amounted to very

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 198.

<sup>42</sup>DAB, s.v. "Burton, Warren,"

<sup>43</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 197.

little, as long as education in the home was comparatively neglected.<sup>44</sup> To remedy this problem, Burton advocated that "during the more leisure season of the year" meetings of parents and teachers should be held on a weekly basis for the discussion of questions pertaining to family-school relations.<sup>45</sup>

In 1828 Burton married Sarah Flint who died in 1836. In 1845 he married Mary Merritt of Salem, Massachusetts, who outlived Burton and their two children who had died when comparatively young.<sup>46</sup> Burton, himself, died on June 6, 1866.

William Ellery Channing

1780-1842

Dr. William Ellery Channing was born in Newport, Rhode Island, on April 7, 1780, of William Channing, the attorney-general of the state, and Lucy (Ellery) Channing.<sup>47</sup> William Ellery Channing prepared for college under an uncle in New London, Connecticut.<sup>48</sup> Channing entered Harvard at fourteen, graduating four years later.<sup>49</sup> He lived with Francis Dana,

<sup>44</sup>DAB, s.v. "Burton, Warren."

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 198.

<sup>47</sup>Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, pp. 141-142.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.    <sup>49</sup>Ibid.

another uncle during his college years. Dana was chief justice of Massachusetts at the time.<sup>50</sup>

Channing was later given the position of regent at Harvard. He was then able to support himself while he studied at the Harvard Divinity School.<sup>51</sup> In 1803 he was ordained as a Congregationalist minister and became pastor of the Federal Street Church in Boston, in which capacity he served until his death.<sup>52</sup>

Dr. Channing was deeply interested in public questions and ethical problems. "His conscience did not allow him to remain silent when he became convinced of the fallacies of the Calvinist doctrines of his church."<sup>53</sup> Dr. Channing's interest centered on problems of the inner life and questions of humanity.<sup>54</sup>

As the inscription on his statue in the Public Gardens in Boston says, "he breathed into theology a human spirit;" he shrank from the implications of Calvinism, and at the ordination of Jared Sparks in 1819 he preached a crucial sermon which resulted in the foundation of Unitarianism as a denomination in America.<sup>55</sup>

Dr. Channing wanted George Ripley to bring together a group of like-minded people to found a community where labor and free development of the intellect and heart could be mixed.<sup>56</sup> His frequent visits with and influence on Ripley

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.    <sup>51</sup>Ibid.    <sup>52</sup>Ibid.    <sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, Memoir of William Henry Channing (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1886), p. 81.

<sup>55</sup>Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, p. 142.

<sup>56</sup>Curtis, American Heritage, p. 60.

at the Club meetings made him an important factor in the initial development of Brook Farm, though no record has been found indicating whether he ever visited the Farm.

Channing, in what he thought of as a "literary Declaration of Independence," said that literature was "the expression of a nation's mind in writing," and he labored to remove the last vestiges of the limitation of English models from the writings of Americans.<sup>57</sup> Channing probably saw himself as a teacher of teachers. In 1826 he defined the "best teacher" as "he who awakens in his pupils the power of thought, and aids them to go alone."<sup>58</sup> He later urged ministers to benefit from hearing other ministers "through sympathy and by catching from them generous impulses, and not by making them models."<sup>59</sup>

In a confession to young ministers in 1836 Channing said:

I fear that the habits, rules, and criticisms, under which I have grown up, and almost grown old, have not left me the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the Western people. I have fought against these chains. I have labored to be a free man, but in the state of the ministry and of society here, freedom is a hard acquisition. I hope the rising generation will gain it more easily and abundantly than their fathers.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, p. 142.

<sup>58</sup>George G. Channing, ed., The Works of William E. Channing, 6 vols. (Boston: 1849) 2:274.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 5:265. <sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, 2:285.

Channing died at Bennington, Vermont, on October 2, 1842.

William Henry Channing

1810-1884

William H. Channing was born in Boston in 1810 of Francis Dana and Susan (Higginson) Channing. He was a nephew of William Ellery Channing the minister and a cousin of William Ellery Channing the Transcendental poet.<sup>61</sup>

His education consisted of early training at the Boston Latin School and at Harvard, graduating from the latter in 1829.<sup>62</sup> Channing then attended the Harvard Divinity School, being graduated in 1833.<sup>63</sup>

He then went to Europe for a short time and upon returning married Julia Allen.<sup>64</sup> He undertook brief ministries in New York and elsewhere.<sup>65</sup> He even made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a free church among the working class.<sup>66</sup> In 1837 he was named pastor of a Unitarian Church in Cincinnati and edited the Unitarian magazine, The Western Messenger.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 217.

<sup>62</sup> Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, pp. 143-144.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. <sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 218.

<sup>66</sup> Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, p. 144.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

His religious doubts caused him to resign from the ministry in 1841, but he later regained his faith and from 1843 to 1845 was leader of an independent religious society in New York.<sup>68</sup>

It was only for a few months in the summer of 1845 that Channing lived on the Farm.<sup>69</sup> He was, however, converted to the Socialist philosophy of Fourier, and from 1847 to 1850 became leader of the Fourierist Religious Union of Associationists in Boston.<sup>70</sup> From 1852 to 1854 he served Unitarian churches in New York. And 1854 to 1857 he served as minister of the Renfrew Street Chapel in Liverpool, England.<sup>71</sup>

One tangible achievement in England was his address in 1861 on "The Civil War in America," in answer to a leader in the London Times that had referred to the Northerners as "savages."<sup>72</sup> It took courage to meet the uninformed and hostile state of public opinion in England which still viewed Americans as revolutionaries.

He returned to the United States in 1861. He became minister of the Unitarian Society in Washington, served on the

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm, p. 25.

<sup>70</sup>Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, p. 144.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 223.

Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, and in 1863 and 1864 was chaplain of the House of Representatives.<sup>73</sup> After the war Channing returned to England where he died on December 23, 1884. His remains were brought to Boston for burial.

He did not enter greatly into the intimate daily life while at the Farm, and "was not in truth one of the sturdy comrades of the barnyard and hayfield."<sup>74</sup>

### John Cheever

John Cheever was an Irishman "of good education."<sup>75</sup> He had been the body servant of an English Lord for several years, until the gentleman died in America.<sup>76</sup> The gentleman, Sir John Caldwell, had been Treasurer-General of Canada at the time.<sup>77</sup> Caldwell had brought his valet, Cheever, to the Brook Farm community, where they took supper with the Brook Farmers. They dined on a delicacy of pork and beans and returned to Boston that evening.<sup>78</sup> Caldwell died suddenly the following day, on October 22, 1842, of apoplexy.<sup>79</sup>

The Brook Farmers took this bit of Irish wit and brogue

<sup>73</sup> Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, p. 144.

<sup>74</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 219.

<sup>75</sup> Frederick Pratt, "Account of Brook Farm" (unpublished manuscript, Fruitlands Museums Archives, n.d.), p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 124.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.    <sup>79</sup> Ibid.

in, "not as a member, but as a sort of irregular attache."<sup>80</sup>

In describing his character, John Van Der Zee Sears says:

John Cheever was our eccentric character; not a crank, not an egotist, not an enthusiast and not a Socialist, but just a plain, good-natured, shrewd-witted Irishman, who, for some reason, liked to live at the Farm.<sup>81</sup>

Cheever was quite helpful and would do any out-of-the-way job that needed to be done. Van Der Zee Sears makes two accounts of Cheever's importance from the perspective of a child. One was Cheever's addition of Irish oatmeal to the somewhat limited diet of the Farmers, and second was Cheever's attention to Christmas and the customs and traditions related to the season.<sup>82</sup> The Brook Farmers and their neighbors paid little attention to Christmas.<sup>83</sup> Cheever, who was a Catholic, explained to the children that the New England Puritans were bitterly hostile to anything "savoring of what they called Popery."<sup>84</sup> Cheever said that ". . . the General Court of Massachusetts had enacted a special law against the keeping of Christmas," and levied a fine and imprisonment for those who celebrated the "Popish festival."<sup>85</sup> Cheever and Mrs. Rykman managed to give the children candies and cookies at the season without much attention being paid to the act.

Cheever left the Farm after a few years and was eventually lost track of.

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<sup>81</sup>John Van Der Zee Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm (New York: Desmond FitzGerald, Inc., 1912), p. 131.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 137.    <sup>83</sup>Ibid.    <sup>84</sup>Ibid.    <sup>85</sup>Ibid.



John Thomas Codman1826-18 ?

In 1843 John Thomas Codman arrived at Brook Farm at the age of seventeen with his father, mother, his sister Rebecca and his older brother Charles.<sup>86</sup> John was too old to be a pupil and too young to do man's work, but was encouraged to do as much as he felt he could.<sup>87</sup>

Codman enjoyed the evening talks that dealt with arguments on community life; the Mexican War that was, without doubt, coming; and the social evenings in German held by Mr. Dana.<sup>88</sup> He also enjoyed the debate on the value of the "water cure," which was the Farm's newest experiment.<sup>89</sup>

Dr. Wesselhofer, an expert on hydropathy, was staying near by, and Georgianna, Ellen and Annie decided to try out the system under his surveillance. A spring near the Farm served as the spa. The idea was to hold all the spring for a time with a water gate and then suddenly loose it. The patients were installed in a makeshift douche house, roofless, and the stream rushed on them from a twenty-foot height. As soon as they were thoroughly soaked, they were wrapped in a sheet and blanket and allowed to sweat. Then came a quick cold bath and a meal of brown bread and baked apples and a long walk afterward. All the rest of the day they drank quantities of water and read Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit. Next day there was another douche, and then they went home. Some of the other Farmers were going to try it, but John felt that Attica fully tested his powers of endurance.<sup>90</sup>

Codman had spent most of his working time in the greenhouse at Brook Farm. When the phalanstery burned down, the

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<sup>86</sup>Katherine Burton, Paradise Planters (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 317.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid. <sup>88</sup>Ibid. <sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 159. <sup>90</sup>Ibid.

Codman family decided that John must find some sort of occupation away from the Farm since it held a precarious future for him.<sup>91</sup> His love and sympathy stayed with the Farm as is witnessed by his continual Saturday visits to the West Roxbury community.<sup>92</sup>

Codman's book, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs, became a comprehensive overview of the experiment.

Christopher "Kit" Pearse Cranch

1813-1892

Christopher "Kit" Pearse Cranch was born in Alexandria, Virginia, March 8, 1813 and died in Cambridge, January 20, 1892.<sup>93</sup> He was the youngest of the thirteen children of William Cranch and Anna (Greenleaf) Cranch.<sup>94</sup>

As a boy he received training in drawing from his brother Edward, a topographical draftsman.<sup>95</sup> He attended Columbian College, Washington, after which he entered the Divinity School of Harvard College in 1831.<sup>96</sup>

While Cranch was a minister in Louisville, he took James Freeman Clarke's pulpit, and edited The Western Messenger.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 82.

<sup>93</sup>George Willis Cooke, ed., The Poets of Transcendentalism (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1903), p. 312.

<sup>94</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Cranch, Christopher Pearse."

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.    <sup>96</sup>Ibid.    <sup>97</sup>Ibid.

Cranch, ". . . having ample means and mundane tastes, had gradually sunk the minister in the man and followed the call of the muses."<sup>98</sup> He was the cleverest caricaturist in New England at the time and had drawn his comic illustrations for some of Emerson's essays, such as the "Man expanding like a Melon."<sup>99</sup> Emerson became interested in Cranch's poems and published several in The Dial.

In October of 1841 he became engaged to a cousin, Elizabeth De Windt, who encouraged him to paint.<sup>100</sup> He abandoned his brief ministry in 1842 to study art in Rome and Paris. This study did not take place until 1846 when the Cranches went in the company of George William Curtis.<sup>101</sup>

During the period prior to departure abroad Cranch had become a frequent visitor to the Farm. His powers of entertainment appear to have been unlimited, and everyone enjoyed his visits to the Farm. Cranch sang in a baritone voice, played piano, guitar, flute and violin.<sup>102</sup> Sometimes he would read from his own poetry.<sup>103</sup> Othertimes he would embrace the sounds of nature and of mechanical devices by way of his excellent ability in the art of ventriloquism.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1940), p. 249.

<sup>100</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 258.

<sup>101</sup>DAB, s.v. "Cranch, Christopher Pearse."

<sup>102</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 257.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.      <sup>104</sup>Ibid.

This activity always amused the Brook Farmers and was a delightful surprise to other visitors. One evening he brought caricatures of a Harvard mill grinding out ministers.<sup>105</sup> His social commentaries were as strong as his talents. He appears to have been as sincere as he was whimsical. In his journal he wrote:

Men will never agree about the fundamentals of Christianity as long as they are possessed with the idea that Christ came to teach a system of doctrines. The only steadfast ground to be taken is that Christ came as a spiritual reformer, not as an instituter of new doctrines. 106

In a letter from Quincy, Massachusetts, dated July 11, 1840 Cranch wrote to his father:

. . . you express alarm at intimations you have received, that I am "inclined to the Transcendental sentiments of the German theologist's," and refer to a statement of "Transcendentalism" in the "Examiner." The article in the "Examiner" I have not seen, and indeed must confess that I know very little about this system of philosophy. So far, however, as I do know anything about it, I can assure you, that it neither recommends itself to my mind nor heart. The philosophy, has always, from the very slight idea I have of it, struck me as a cold, barren system of Idealism, not calculated to strengthen the soul's faith in the external realities of the spiritual world, or enable it as a perfect philosophy should, to give a reason for the hope that is in us; although to some minds it may have this effect. . . .

. . . somehow the name "Transcendentalist" has become a nick-name here for all who have broken away from the material philosophy of Locke, and the old theology of many of the early Unitarians, . . . .

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<sup>105</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 156.

<sup>106</sup>Christopher Pearse Cranch, Journal, cited by Leonora Cranch Scott, The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), pp. 51-52.

The name has been more particularly applied to Mr. Emerson, or those who believe in or sympathize with him. Mr. Emerson has been said to have imported his doctrine from Germany. But the fact is, that no man stands more independently of other minds than he does. He seems to me very far from Kant or Fichte. His writings breathe the very spirit of religion and faith. Whatever his speculations may be, there is nothing in anything he says, which is inconsistent with Christianity.

I can assure you that my faith is as strong as it ever was, in the truth and the divine origin of Christianity. . . .

. . . The name "Transcendentalist" seems to be thus fixed upon all who profess to be on the movement side, however they may differ among themselves. But union in sympathy differs from union in belief. Since we cannot avoid names, I prefer the term "New School" to the other long name. This could comprehend all free seekers after truth, however their opinions differ.

All Unitarians should be of this school, but I must confess that there are several of the Orthodox who more properly belong to it than do many Unitarians. There is certainly an old and a new school of Unitarianism.<sup>107</sup>

While the letter exemplifies the fact that Cranch was trying to put his concerned father's mind at ease, it nevertheless is defensive of the "New School" or the "Society of the Newness" as it was more often called. Although Cranch was known for his special talent of poking fun at Emerson and other Transcendentalists, especially through his illustrations, this letter gives evidence of his sincere desire to separate the truth from all else, regardless of the paternal influence.

In 1853 Cranch took his family back to Paris where he

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<sup>107</sup>Christopher Pearse Cranch, "A Letter to His Father," cited by Leonora Cranch Scott, The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), pp. 49-51.

studied for the next ten years.<sup>108</sup> In 1856 he recorded his great delight at discovering the Barbizon School and its painters.<sup>109</sup>

He returned to America in 1863 with his son George who enlisted and was killed in the Union army.<sup>110</sup> In 1873 the family moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts where the rest of Cranch's life was spent as, so he wrote, "an ignoramus trespassing in the dominion of scholars."<sup>111</sup>

In 1889 his health started to fail, and on January 20, 1892 he died. His greatest achievement was his translation of Vergil's Aeneid.<sup>112</sup> His painting never gained distinction, only respectability. In relation to Brook Farm, Cranch made a permanent impression, especially on the younger members of the association.<sup>113</sup>

### George William Curtis

1824-1892

On the southerly slope of College Hill of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island<sup>114</sup> was born George William Cur-

<sup>108</sup>DAB, s.v. "Cranch, Christopher Pearse."

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.    <sup>110</sup>Ibid.    <sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid. Also see Christopher Pearse Cranch, The Aeneid of Virgil Translated into English Blank Verse (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872).

<sup>113</sup>F. DeWolfe Miller, Cranch and His Caricatures (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 13.

<sup>114</sup>Robert P. Brown et al, eds., Memories of Brown Rhode Island: Brown Alumni Magazine Co., 1909), p. 69.

tis on February 24, 1824.<sup>115</sup> His parents were George Curtis and Mary Elizabeth (Burrill) Curtis.<sup>116</sup> After only five years of marriage Mary Elizabeth died, leaving her husband to raise their sons.<sup>117</sup>

J. Burrill and George W. were brought up by relatives until they were of school age. In 1830 their father sent them to boarding school in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, where they stayed for the next five years, returning home for occasional holidays.<sup>118</sup>

In 1835 their father married Julia B. Bridgham.<sup>119</sup> She was twenty-four; he, thirty-eight.<sup>120</sup> Although she became the mother of four boys of her own, she remained affectionate to her step-sons.<sup>121</sup>

The family moved to New York City when George was fifteen. Here George W. held a clerkship for a few years.<sup>122</sup> George W's father accepted a position as cashier of the Bank of Commerce of New York.<sup>123</sup>

George W's business experience was so distasteful that by 1842 he and his brother James Burrill went to Brook Farm for approximately eighteen months.<sup>124</sup> Being impressionable,

<sup>115</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Curtis, George William."

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>Gordon Milne, George William Curtis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), p. 4.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 5. <sup>119</sup>Ibid. <sup>120</sup>Ibid. <sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>Milne, George William Curtis, p. 9.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 10. <sup>124</sup>Ibid.

Both brothers were influenced by Emerson and the Transcendental movement. Their studies seem to have centered on German, agricultural chemistry and music under Dwight.<sup>125</sup>

Writing to his father, George says in reference to the Farm:

"No wise man is long a reformer, for wisdom sees plainly that growth is steady, sure, and neither condemns nor rejects what is or has been."<sup>126</sup> Sometime after his Brook

Farm experience, he wrote:

I was attracted to this place by a general restlessness and the promise of an Arcadian and beneficent life. During the year and a half that I remained, it was the most unique (sic) episode of my life. It has been entirely misrepresented, both in its intention, in its influence, and in the character of the persons who lived there and the life they led. It was the purely pastoral chapter in most of our lives. I was there during the golden age. I was young, I saw none of the cracks, I heard none of the creaking, and I confess that my residence there is entirely idyllic in my memory. <sup>127</sup>

The Curtis brothers truly made a second home of Brook Farm. J. Burrill had written to their father, only a few hours after they had arrived at the Farm, that they felt at home.<sup>128</sup>

George made many friends at Brook Farm. He was influenced by the guiding spirits of Sophia and George Ripley; the

<sup>125</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 86.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>127</sup>George William Curtis, "Notes of George William Curtis." Duyckinck Literary Correspondence, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, (Unpublished manuscript). Cited by Gordon Milne, George William Curtis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), p. 10.

<sup>128</sup>Milne, George William Curtis, p. 11.



common sense of Charles Dana, whom he later was associated with on the New York Tribune; George P. Bradford, who encouraged equal loves of nature and literature in Curtis; John S. Dwight who developed his taste for music; Pearse Cranch, who lavishly exposed the young Curtis to poetry, art and music; and many of the other elders.<sup>129</sup>

George's observations of the younger Brook Farmers seems to have also been on a positive note. In a letter to Mrs. Barlow from New York on November 19, 1843, soon after his leaving the Farm, George wrote:

The children are the softest feature in my picture of the past and of the farm life. How beautiful they were on the Christmas evening at the Eyrie, when the woods came in and graced our festival, and when they glided about among the fantastic shapes at the Jan-ball! <sup>130</sup>

George kept up his correspondence with Isaac Hecker even after Hecker had left the Farm. When Hecker expressed dismay because neither the church nor society even approximated a perfect state, Curtis wrote to Hecker from Brook Farm asking:

Why seems the hope for men almost hopeless, because neither Church -- nor Society hang out any beacon of Success? In the man, where the seed is sown, let us look for the harvest. Not distressed about means -- not disturbed because there are yet beggars in Broadway and Prostitutes at the 5 Points -- be sure that in this house is the sphere of our duty & that while the winds ring with the fame of Reform and regeneration, it is our's to make our atmosphere serene and healthful by

<sup>129</sup>Ibid.

<sup>130</sup>George William Curtis, (unpublished) Letter to Mrs. Barlow, November 19, 1843, from New York, in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.

vigorous living. This great Negro Slavery -- this reeling Drunkenness that staggers and totters thro' the land, is not the sin that affects me. I am mainly concerned with that want of Faith which cannot pierce the slavery and the intoxication to the centre, and so reconcile them with all. . . .

. . . the wiser man lends himself to no organization. He is his own Society and does his own reforms. . . . Long ago he has learned, and that was the silent dawning of Wisdom in his mind, that the Individual life is the only life he knows, and that to him, men, women, the world are experiences which affect him more or less deeply. Nevertheless, his real relations are not thereby disturbed.

Your nature, Isaac, leads you to this general action upon the many, for the many. Mine sends me home that I may build a fairer house and entertain nobly what guests may come. 131

In October of 1843, George Curtis left Brook Farm and returned to New York.<sup>132</sup> In '46, Curtis left New York for a four years' stay in various countries of Europe and Egypt.<sup>133</sup> George and Burrill looked upon this tour as a further development of their characters. "Though many people might criticize their leisurely and unorthodox preparation for life, George and Burrill regarded it as a truly liberal education."<sup>134</sup> Their father footed the bill of their "grand tour."<sup>135</sup> On August 1, 1846 George left aboard the ship Nebraska, along with Pearse Cranch and his wife, Lizzie; Burrill was to follow

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<sup>131</sup>George William Curtis, (unpublished) Letter to Isaac Hecker, Sunday, October 8, 1843, from Brook Farm. (New York: Paulist Fathers' Archives).

<sup>132</sup>DAB, s.v. "Curtis, George William."

<sup>133</sup>Ibid.

<sup>134</sup>Milne, George William Curtis, p. 34.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.

in the fall.<sup>136</sup>

On Thanksgiving Day, 1856, George married Anna Shaw of Staten Island.<sup>137</sup> Shortly thereafter, Putnam's Monthly, of which Curtis was associate editor, went into bankruptcy.<sup>138</sup>

The second half of George's career was made memorable by a series of noble orations. When George found it important that the principle of freedom needed to be established, he also decided that one must do more than express one's views privately to his friends; one must actively enter the public arena.<sup>139</sup> Opportunity lay open, for in the summer of 1856 the presidential campaign was just getting under way, and both candidates, James Buchanan and John C. Fremont, were looking for experienced speakers.<sup>140</sup> Since Buchanan favored compromise with the Southern slavery movement and Fremont held no compromise whatsoever, Curtis chose the latter.<sup>141</sup> He quickly became one of the most forceful and convincing speakers on the Republican side.<sup>142</sup> "Right now," Curtis asserted, "the scholar's most important task was to aid in the preservation of liberty, and that meant, of course, to fight for the elimination of slavery."<sup>143</sup>

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>137</sup>DAB, s.v. "Curtis, George William."

<sup>138</sup>Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>Milne, George William Curtis, p. 90.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.    <sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 91.    <sup>142</sup>Ibid.    <sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

Prior to the campaign's end Curtis left for that Thanksgiving marriage.<sup>144</sup>

He opposed all caste usurpation and advocated the need of a better understanding between capital and labor.<sup>145</sup>

He was also among the first to fight for the enfranchisement of women.<sup>146</sup> He eventually became chancellor of the University of the State of New York and editor of "The Easy Chair," in Harper's Magazine.<sup>147</sup>

In a eulogy of George William Curtis, on February 24, 1893, Mr. William Winter says of Curtis:

The art in which Curtis excelled all his contemporaries of the last thirty years was the art of oratory. Many other authors wrote better in verse, and some others wrote as well in prose. . . . But in the felicity of speech Curtis was supreme above all other men of his generation. My reference is to the period from 1860 to 1890. Oratory as it existed in America in the previous epoch has no living representative. Curtis was the last orator of the great school of Everett, Sumner, and Wendell Phillips. His model -- in so far as he had a model -- was Sumner, and the style of Sumner was based on Burke. But Curtis had heard more magical voices than those -- for he had heard Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate; and although he was averse to their politics, he could profit by their politics, he could profit by their example. . . .<sup>148</sup>

Curtis died on August 31, 1892.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>144</sup>DAB, s.v. "Curtis, George William."

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.    <sup>146</sup>Ibid.    <sup>147</sup>Ibid.

<sup>148</sup>William Winter, George William Curtis: A Eulogy (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1893), pp. 45-47.

<sup>149</sup>DAB, s.v. "Curtis, George William."

Charles Anderson Dana

1819-1897

Charles Anderson Dana was born on August 8, 1819 at Hinsdale, New Hampshire, of Anderson Dana, a farmer, and Ann (Denison) Dana.<sup>150</sup> His mother died when he was nine years of age.<sup>151</sup> His studies of Latin and Greek on their farm prepared him for matriculation without conditions at Harvard in 1839.<sup>152</sup> Dana's eyesight became impaired from overstudy at the beginning of his junior year.<sup>153</sup> It thus became necessary for Charles to leave Harvard. This departure came about the same time that George Ripley was founding Brook Farm. Dana hastened to join, much against the wishes of his father who saw the Farmers as a little mad.<sup>154</sup>

He had distinguished himself in the study of languages at Harvard.<sup>155</sup> Ripley recognized Dana's ability and gave him a position of responsibility in the teaching of Greek and German.<sup>156</sup> This secured the title of "The Professor" for Dana.<sup>157</sup> According to Colonel Higginson, "The Professor"

<sup>150</sup>Ibid.

<sup>151</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Dana, Charles Anderson."

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.    <sup>153</sup>Ibid.    <sup>154</sup>Ibid.

<sup>155</sup>Anna Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," Catholic World, 78(1901):20.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.    <sup>157</sup>Ibid.

was "the best all-round man at Brook Farm."<sup>158</sup>

Dana's popularity as a teacher appears to have been very great; for Bradford once declared that he wouldn't lift a finger to save Charles Dana's life if the need arose.<sup>159</sup>

Bradford was jealous of Dana's continual success in luring the same girls into his German class whom Bradford himself longed to instruct.<sup>160</sup> Dana's coming to the Farm was a boost to George Ripley's morale which was brought to a state of disappointment when he was unable to persuade Emerson to join.

Dana, who in later years became editor of the New York Sun, and John Sullivan Dwight, who later became editor of the Journal of Music, both received their first training as editors of The Harbinger, the magazine of the Fourieristic movement at the Farm.<sup>161</sup> Dana noticed books, reported movements, criticized men and measures, and translated poetry from the German.<sup>162</sup> Although Dana had opposed the Fourieristic ideas which turned the Farm into a "Phalanx," he remained loyal to the organization.<sup>163</sup>

Dana's writings for The Harbinger had so directed his efforts upon journalism that he naturally turned to the field

<sup>158</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 146.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 192.    <sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 374.

<sup>162</sup>Frothingham, Transcendentalism in New England, p. 330.

<sup>163</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dana, Charles Anderson."

when a disastrous fire terminated the Brook Farm experiment.<sup>164</sup>  
 His having had a slight contact with the Boston Daily Chrono-  
type enabled him to become its assistant editor immediately.<sup>165</sup>  
 Within the year Dana used his acquaintance with Horace Greeley  
 to gain the city editorship of the New York Tribune.<sup>166</sup>

George Ripley and Dana later gained moderate wealth in  
 the compilation and writing of the American Cyclopaedia which  
 took six years but sold more than three million copies.<sup>167</sup>

In 1867 Dana acquired the New York Sun.<sup>168</sup> In the  
 capacity of owner Dana was able to be a leader of public  
 opinion. He was perverse, cynical, and somewhat reactionary.  
 After 1869 he attacked Grant's administration to a greater  
 degree than any other New York daily.<sup>169</sup> He disliked labor  
 unions and urged that "labor organizations be placed under  
 precisely as stringent governmental regulation as affected  
 the trusts."<sup>170</sup> He appears to have never forgiven a grudge.

Dana was married to Eunice Macdaniel on March 2, 1846,  
 and was a devoted father and husband.<sup>171</sup> He died on October  
 17, 1897

#### John Glover Drew

Drew proved to be one of very best Farmers in the strict-

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<sup>164</sup>Ibid.    <sup>165</sup>Ibid.    <sup>166</sup>Ibid.    <sup>167</sup>Ibid.    <sup>168</sup>Ibid.  
<sup>169</sup>Ibid.    <sup>170</sup>Ibid.    <sup>171</sup>Ibid.

est sense of the term. Not only did he have Shakespeare at his tongue's end, but he also displayed excellent business talents which made him a valuable member of the Industrial Council at the Farm.<sup>172</sup> In addition he was Commercial Agent of the Farm and showed himself to be an excellent shipper and forwarder of the Farm's products.<sup>173</sup> Buckley Hastings, another member of the Association, was affiliated with Drew in his shipping and purveying of the Farm's products.<sup>174</sup>

John Sullivan Dwight

1813-1893

John Sullivan Dwight was born on May 13, 1813 at Boston, Massachusetts of Dr. John and Mary (Corey) Dwight.<sup>175</sup> Dwight prepared at the Boston Latin School and entered Harvard College in 1829 where he associated himself with the musical club.<sup>176</sup> Since he was little inclined toward the practical pursuits, his father made sure that he received excellent instruction in the musical arts.<sup>177</sup> Graduating from Harvard

<sup>172</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 202.

<sup>173</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 122.

<sup>174</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup>George Willis Cooke, ed., Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898), p. 41.



in 1832, Dwight gave the class poem.<sup>178</sup>

In the Fall of 1834 Dwight entered the theological school at Harvard and completed his course of study in August, 1836, his dissertation being written on "The Proper Character of Poetry and Music for Public Worship."<sup>179</sup> The dissertation was published in the Christian Examiner for that year.<sup>180</sup>

It was three and one-half years after leaving divinity school before Dwight secured a pulpit. While in divinity school at Harvard Dwight struck up lasting friendships with Theodore Parker and Christopher Pearse Cranch.<sup>181</sup> After graduation he became a member of the "Transcendental Club" and was found to be in sympathy with Emerson and Parker.<sup>182</sup> The churches did not find his preaching acceptable.<sup>183</sup> He wrote several papers in the next few years for the Christian Examiner, and in 1838 he published a series of translations under the general title of "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature," which were edited by George Ripley.<sup>184</sup> Dwight also published a volume of "Select Minor Poems," which were translated from the German of Goethe and Schiller.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>178</sup>Ibid.

<sup>179</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>180</sup>Cooke, Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight, p. 42.

<sup>181</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>182</sup>Cooke, Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid.    <sup>184</sup>Ibid., p. 43.    <sup>185</sup>Ibid.

In 1840 he became pastor of the Unitarian church at Northampton, where he was ordained on May 20th with George Ripley preaching the sermon and William Ellery Channing delivering the charge.<sup>186</sup> In 1841, two of his sermons, "The Religion of Beauty" and "Ideals of Everyday Life" were published in the first volume of The Dial.<sup>187</sup> These published articles were among his first.

Dwight had discussed the project of a community at Brook Farm with Ripley prior to the undertaking. It was natural that he should become a member as he did in November of 1841.<sup>188</sup> Dwight was one of the leaders of the community, his place being after that of Ripley and Dana.<sup>189</sup> In the school John was the instructor in Latin and music. He gained his journalistic training at the Farm when he and Charles A. Dana served as editors for The Harbinger, the magazine published at the Farm.<sup>190</sup> He was also chief of the "Festal Series."<sup>191</sup> "He was happy to hoe the corn on Sundays, paying his regards to the Puritan sabbath by breaking it in every way he could. . . ."<sup>192</sup> Dwight instilled both

<sup>186</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>187</sup>Ibid.

<sup>188</sup>Cooke, Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid.

<sup>190</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 374.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid. <sup>192</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

the children and the adults with an appreciation of music. He organized Mass Clubs in West Roxbury and in Boston to sing the compositions of Mozart, Bach, and Beethoven.<sup>193</sup> His activity as a participant in the Brook Farm community was many-sided.

A letter written by Christopher List of Philadelphia to Dwight contains information that Dwight, and no one else, was the author of the new constitution of the Farm. On March 14, 1845, List wrote:

I am not so competent to judge of associative constitutions as I should be if I had heard all the discussions and disquisitions regarding them which have enlightened Brook Farm since I left it, but it seems to be impossible that investigation would much alter my view of your plan, for it seems to me scientific throughout, and I believe its adoption will not be avoided, though it may be deferred. I wish it would be thought expedient to adopt it now.

Whether adopted or not, I shall be glad that you have written it, and that I have had an opportunity of reading it. It pleases me more than anything that I have ever read on the subject of government.

I suppose you are aware that the movement at present depends on Brook Farm. The other attempts will all fail. I hope you will never have a native party; but yet I think those who are stout of heart and clear of vision should beware of foreign influence. Nowhere are there wiser and truer persons than at Brook Farm. They should accept evidence from all persons competent to testify, but they are the judges by right human and divine, and should not yield their prerogative. . . [sic; the ellipses marks are Haraszti's].

<sup>193</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>194</sup>A letter from Christopher List of Philadelphia to J. S. Dwight, dated March 14, 1845, cited by Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm, pp. 35-36.

Dwight had even tried to convince George William Curtis that Fourierism would enhance his talents, for Dwight personally felt that Fourierism made him a better musician.<sup>195</sup> Curtis dismissed Dwight's enthusiasm saying: "What is society but the shadow of single men behind? . . . The love which alone can make your phalanx beautiful, also makes it unnecessary."<sup>196</sup>

Dwight's devotion to the Farm remained even after the phalanstery burned down. He stayed at the community after Ripley had gone for a short span.<sup>197</sup>

During the four years following 1847 he directed the choir of W. H. Channing's Religious Union of Associationists in Boston.<sup>198</sup> On February 12, 1851 he was married to Mary Bullard, who had been a member of his choir.<sup>199</sup>

In 1852 he became publisher, editor, and chief contributor of the Journal of Music, which he ran for thirty years.<sup>200</sup> Oliver Ditson & Company took over the publishing end of the Journal in 1858.<sup>201</sup> This publication set the musical standard of Boston for some time. It contained the musical news of Germany, Italy, France, England, Liszt's Life of Chopin, a serial life of Mozart and several original compositions.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>195</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 180.

<sup>196</sup>Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>197</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 323.

<sup>198</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>199</sup>Ibid.    <sup>200</sup>Ibid.    <sup>201</sup>Ibid.

<sup>202</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 375.

It led the musical thought of the country until Dwight's dislike of Brahms and Wagner gradually destroyed the Journal's influence.<sup>203</sup>

Dwight had other interests as well during these years. He was trustee of the Perkins Institution for the Blind for eighteen years.<sup>204</sup> He was a member of the "Saturday Club," and from 1877 had a large share in the handling of the Club's affairs.<sup>205</sup> He was vice-president of the Harvard Musical Association from 1855 to 1873 and president and librarian from 1873 until his death on September 5, 1893.<sup>206</sup>

### Marianne Dwight

Marianne Dwight assisted her brother, John S. Dwight, in the teaching of Latin in the Brook Farm school.<sup>207</sup> She was a twenty-eight year old spinster when she joined the Farm with her parents.<sup>208</sup> Although she was enthusiastic about the Association and Fourierism, she regretted the absence of her good friend Anna Q. T. Parsons.<sup>209</sup> When they both lived in Boston they would go together to meetings concerning women's rights, slavery, and social reform.<sup>210</sup> Miss Parsons never

<sup>203</sup>Ibid.

<sup>204</sup>DAB, s.v. "Dwight, John Sullivan."

<sup>205</sup>Ibid. <sup>206</sup>Ibid.

<sup>207</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 73.

<sup>208</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 181.

<sup>209</sup>Ibid. <sup>210</sup>Ibid.

joined but was an occasional visitor who did psychic "Readings."<sup>211</sup>

Marianne eventually married John Orvis.<sup>212</sup> At the completion of the ceremony the group attending rose, joined hands in a circle vowing truth to the cause of God and humanity.<sup>213</sup> This was their "symbol of universal unity."<sup>214</sup>

### Ralph Waldo Emerson

1803-1882

Emerson was born in Boston on May 25, 1803.<sup>215</sup> His father, Rev. William Emerson, minister of the First Church, died early, and as a result the family struggled against poverty for a number of years.<sup>216</sup> Emerson received his early training at the grammar and Latin schools and at home under the supervision of his aunt Mary Moody, who frequented the Emerson's home.<sup>217</sup>

In 1817 Emerson entered Harvard being paid as a messenger with free lodgings in the president's house.<sup>218</sup> In addition he waited on tables at the Commons and tutored in his

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 66.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid. <sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

<sup>216</sup> Harold Clarke Goddard, Studies in New England Transcendentalism (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 62.

<sup>217</sup> DAB, s.v. "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

spare time.<sup>219</sup> Harvard clung to a traditional education which was patterned after the English secondary school of the Renaissance.<sup>220</sup> New ideas and new methods had leaked in, however, and were being introduced by two or three professors who had studied at German Universities.<sup>221</sup> Emerson especially mentions Edward Everett as a "coming light-bearer from abroad as well as a beacon in himself, through his native gift of expression."<sup>222</sup>

Emerson graduated from Harvard, as class poet, in 1821.<sup>223</sup> As to his immediate future he saw teaching as his livelihood.<sup>224</sup> At first he was an assistant to his brother William, who ran a finishing school for the young ladies of Boston in their mother's house.<sup>225</sup> He then maintained the school for another year and a half after his two year assistantship had passed.<sup>226</sup> He found himself very unhappy with the occupation; so it appears. He did not consider himself a success at teaching, although some of his pupils did.<sup>227</sup>

In 1825 he closed the school having earned a considerable amount of money. Emerson felt that his reasoning faculty was weak but his "moral imagination" was strong.<sup>228</sup> He

<sup>219</sup>Ibid.

<sup>220</sup>Denton J. Snider, Ralph Waldo Emerson (Saint Louis: The William Harvey Miner Co., Inc., 1921), p. 46.

<sup>221</sup>Ibid.    <sup>222</sup>Ibid.

<sup>223</sup>DAB, s.v. "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

<sup>224</sup>Ibid.    <sup>225</sup>Ibid.    <sup>226</sup>Ibid.    <sup>227</sup>Ibid.    <sup>228</sup>Ibid.

entered the Harvard Divinity School and was ordained in March of 1829.<sup>229</sup> Upon ordination he became assistant pastor and soon after pastor of the Second Church of Boston.<sup>230</sup>

In December of 1827 Emerson chanced to visit Concord where he came in contact with Miss Ellen Louisa Tucker whom he became betrothed to on December 17, 1828.<sup>231</sup> In September of 1829 they were married; she is said to have died about a year later of consumption.<sup>232</sup>

In 1832 he was forced to resign his pastorate. The reason for the difference of opinion came from his notions concerning the Lord's Supper.<sup>233</sup> He felt that he could no longer administer the Lord's Supper unless the Bread and Wine were left out.<sup>234</sup>

In 1833, with the backing and support of those Unitarian ministers who were becoming more interested in the European Transcendental philosophers, Emerson went to Europe. Ripley, Brownson, and Parker awaited Emerson's return so that they might hear from his own lips the conversations that he would

<sup>229</sup>Goddard, Studies in New England Transcendentalism, p. 62.

<sup>230</sup>Ibid.

<sup>231</sup>Frank B. Sanborn, Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1901), p. Roman Numeral X.

<sup>232</sup>Ibid.

<sup>233</sup>Snider, Ralph Waldo Emerson, p. 75.

<sup>234</sup>Ibid.



have with Carlyle, Coleridge, and Wordsworth.<sup>235</sup>

Emerson returned during the Fall of 1833 and took up residence in Concord.<sup>236</sup> Although he talked to his inner circle of friends, he was in no hurry to publish an expression of the philosophy he had developed since leaving the ministry.<sup>237</sup> Finally in 1836 he published a work called Nature in which he proposed the question "To what end is Nature?"<sup>238</sup> Emerson's reading of Swedenborg gave him a metaphysical approach to nature.<sup>239</sup> His visit to Wordsworth apparently confirmed him in his feeling that he should develop and establish an original relationship with the visible universe.<sup>240</sup> In Nature Emerson says:

The Over-Soul is God working through His own instruments -- mankind. The laws of Nature . . . are a constant discipline to man. Therefore is Nature the ally of Religion; and prophet and priest have drawn deeply from her. To this one end of Discipline, all parts of Nature conspire. For Nature is always faithful to the cause of its origin; it always speaks of Spirit: It is a great shadow cast always to the sun behind us. Indeed, the noblest ministry of Nature is to stand as the apparition of God.<sup>241</sup>

From this passage can be seen that Emerson preferred

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> DAB, s.v. "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

<sup>237</sup> Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 323.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> DAB, s.v. "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Curtis, A Season in Utopia, pp. 27-28.

glimpses of truth to digested systems.<sup>242</sup> He felt that the scientist was too often absorbed in classification and "ignored the wonderful congruity which subsists between man and the world."<sup>243</sup>

Emerson was a member of the Transcendental Club and had the meetings at his home in Concord on occasion. Once he had suggested that the members of the Club have two porcupines meeting with all spines erect as their seal, and the motto: "We converse at the quill's end."<sup>244</sup> The suggestion was not taken up, however. At another Club meeting someone suggested the topic of the negro to be discussed to which Orestes Brownson replied:

Rather the freeing of the white man. Perhaps with the freeing and educating of the latter the former will be given his. We should feel it a pride to have our land stand first among the nations for its humanitarianism.<sup>245</sup>

To which Emerson added: "If only people could manage to consider themselves nothing and the idea everything."<sup>246</sup>

Emerson never joined the Brook Farm movement,-- a point which saddened George Ripley at the outset of the experiment. Although Emerson had promoted such an idea, he appears to have been unwilling to take the chance. He looked upon it with curiosity and interest, but he seems to have had only

<sup>242</sup>Ibid.

<sup>243</sup>Ibid.

<sup>244</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 11.

<sup>245</sup>Ibid., p. 12.      <sup>246</sup>Ibid.

a moderate degree of faith in its practical working.<sup>247</sup> Perhaps he felt, as did Hawthorne after a year's stay at the Farm, that he would not have time enough for his work. In 1841 Henry Thoreau joined the Emerson household as a steward, an adopted son and somewhat of a master of rural arts.<sup>248</sup> Emerson had known Thoreau during Thoreau's childhood. Thoreau instructed Emerson in the garden arts of digging and hoeing. The odor affected Emerson and "robbed him of energy."<sup>249</sup> He soon decided that writing and practical farming could never go together.<sup>250</sup>

Although he would "honor" the Brook Farmers with his occasional visits it appears that he took a dim view of many of the inhabitants at the Farm. In his diary, as cited by Haraszti, Emerson writes:

Brook Farm will show a few noble victims who act and suffer with temper and proportion, but the larger part will be slight adventurers and will shirk work. <sup>251</sup>

and he adds:

The founders of Brook Farm ought to have this praise, that they have made what all people try to make, an agreeable place to live in. All comers, and the most fastidious, find it the pleasantest of residences . . . <sup>252</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1885), p. 164.

<sup>248</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, Emerson and Others (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927), p. 25.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 26. <sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm, p. 25.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

In July of 1872 Emerson's home in Concord burned down, and James Russell Lowell and other friends contributed \$17,000 to a fund that would make good the loss.<sup>253</sup> Emerson went to Europe for one last trip. On this visit he saw Carlyle, Browning, Taine, Turgenev, Max Muller, Jowett and Ruskin.<sup>254</sup> He returned in 1873 after having satisfied an old desire of seeing the Nile.<sup>255</sup> He died on April 27, 1882 back in Massachusetts.<sup>256</sup>

In his lifetime "what he wished to disturb was formalism; the stagnation of the spiritual life about the emblems of a faith that has departed; the gazing after past revelations until we are blind to the present."<sup>257</sup>

### Frank Farley

Farley was about thirty when he joined the Farm.<sup>258</sup> He had spent some time farming in the West before coming to the Farm.<sup>259</sup> He appears to have been more practical than most of the other Farmers since he wondered "what sort of farmers these were who talked about reading matters and couldn't even notice the sound of cows very plainly asking to be milked."<sup>260</sup>

<sup>253</sup> DAB, s.v. "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.    <sup>255</sup> Ibid.    <sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> James Elliot Cabot, A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson (London: Macmillan and Co., 1887), p. 262.

<sup>258</sup> Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 58.

<sup>259</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 19.

<sup>260</sup> Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 45.

Mr. Farley would rise at 4 o'clock and make fires in the kitchen and in the parlor; blow a horn at quarter till 5 and all hands would turn out to milk and take care of the cattle, horses and pigs before breakfast which would be ready at half past six.<sup>261</sup>

The Farmers were enthusiastic about the talents of Farley and thought him to be the very prototype of their ideal.<sup>262</sup> He knew how to do "every species of work, from cooking and other kinds of domestic labor through all the process of farming and dealing with livestock."<sup>263</sup> In leisure hours, he drew as well as read aloud with "histrionic beauty."<sup>264</sup>

Sarah Margaret Fuller (Ossoli)

1810-1850

Miss Fuller was born on May 23, 1810 at Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, of Timothy Fuller, a lawyer, and Margaret (Crane) Fuller.<sup>265</sup> Timothy Fuller was responsible for most of Margaret's education. Timothy was, in the words of T. W. Higginson,

a man of some narrowness and undue self-assertion, very

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<sup>261</sup> Curtis, A Season in Utopia.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., p. 55. <sup>263</sup> Ibid. <sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Fuller, Sarah Margaret."

likely; but conscientious, vigorous, well-informed, and public-spirited. His daughter Margaret always recognized, after all his mistakes, her great intellectual obligations to him; and his accurate habits of mind were always mentioned by her with admiration. 266

Margaret felt that her father's teaching had checked her growth and that much of her life was devoured in the bud.<sup>267</sup> Her father taught her in the evening so she was forced to spend her days in preparation.<sup>268</sup> At six years of age she could read Latin and English, and began learning Greek.<sup>269</sup>

Of her childhood she said:

Far remote in time, in thought, from that period, I look back on these glooms and terrors, wherein I was enveloped, and perceive that I had no natural childhood. 270

Margaret further felt that she spent so much time learning the thoughts of others, that she had little time to learn her own.<sup>271</sup> But her own mission was to "grow."<sup>272</sup> She had made up her mind early in life to be bright and ugly -- a

<sup>266</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Margaret Fuller Ossoli (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1884), p. 16.

<sup>267</sup> Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 22.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>270</sup> R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1874) 1:16.

<sup>271</sup> Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 45.

<sup>272</sup> Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 238.

point which she herself felt.<sup>273</sup> Miss Fuller spent two years at the school of a Mrs. Prescott in Groton, that helped to counteract her overdeveloped arrogance and self-esteem.<sup>274</sup>

At the age of fifteen she would get up at five, walk for an hour and practice the piano; then read philosophy and French.<sup>275</sup> From half past nine until noon she would study Greek, practice piano again, lounge for half an hour, read for two hours in Italian, and would go for a walk.<sup>276</sup> In the evening she played, sang, or wrote in her journal after her father heard her daily lessons.<sup>277</sup>

Her father died suddenly in 1835 and she vowed to educate her brothers and sisters regardless of cost and her own ambitions.<sup>278</sup> She taught for a while in Bronson Alcott's Temple School and gave private lessons in languages.<sup>279</sup> From 1837 she was the principal teacher at a school in Providence.<sup>280</sup>

In 1839 she moved to Boston, where she met Emerson and became involved in the Transcendentalist movement.<sup>281</sup> As to who influenced her the most she said:

<sup>273</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 22.

<sup>274</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 209.

<sup>275</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 238.

<sup>276</sup>Ibid.

<sup>277</sup>Ibid.

<sup>278</sup>Haycraft, American Authors: 1600-1900, p. 294.

<sup>279</sup>Ibid.    <sup>280</sup>Ibid.    <sup>281</sup>Ibid.

You question me as to the nature of the benefits conferred upon me by Mr. E's preaching. I answer, that his influence has been more beneficial to me than that of any American, and that from him I first learned what is meant by an inward life. Many other springs have since fed the stream of living waters, but he first opened the fountain. That the mind is its own place was a dead phrase to me, till he cast light upon my mind. Several of his sermons stand apart in memory, like landmarks of my spiritual history. It would take a volume to tell what this one influence did for me. But perhaps I shall some time see that it was best for me to be forced to help myself. 282

In Boston she organized her famed "Conversations" which were held in the Peabody bookshop once a week for a two hour period.<sup>283</sup> Margaret had discussed the idea of having such meetings with Mrs. Ripley as they had been successful when Miss Elizabeth Peabody had them some years previously.<sup>284</sup> Margaret told Mrs. Ripley that there were only two questions that they need try to solve at the meetings: "What were we born to do? and How shall we do it?"<sup>285</sup> Some of the others who attended the meetings were Elizabeth Hoar from Concord, Lydia Maria Child, the three Peabody sisters, Mrs. George Bancroft, Maria White, who was engaged to James Russell Lowell.<sup>286</sup> She would often talk to the group on what she called the Great Lawsuit: that is, man versus man and woman versus woman. The conversation eventually found its way to

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<sup>282</sup> Emerson, Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 1:194.

<sup>283</sup> Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 21.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid. <sup>285</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>286</sup> Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 242.



the publishing of a memorable book entitled Women of the Nineteenth Century, which Margaret authored.<sup>287</sup>

Miss Fuller insisted that women did not want any "badges of authority or the notoriety which men had appropriated themselves."<sup>288</sup> What they wanted instead was the intelligent freedom of the universe.<sup>289</sup> She would quote from Goethe in saying that "the excellent woman is one who when her husband dies, can be a father to his children," and from Channing who said, "Woman I consider not so much the equal as the equivalent of man."<sup>290</sup> Hawthorne, upon hearing of Margaret's remarks, said, "Miss Fuller is so willing to upset all human institutions and scatter them with a breeze from her little fan."<sup>291</sup>

Of the circle of Transcendentalists most of the ablest members remained only visitors to the Farm. "Doing things in crowds" seemed to them too youthful; they were self-sufficient.<sup>292</sup> As Margaret put it, "Why bind oneself to a central or any doctrine? How much nobler stands a man entirely unpledged, unbound?"<sup>293</sup>

Margaret visited the Farm on several occasions but never joined. Georgianna Bruce (Kirby) would burn pastels to

<sup>287</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 23.

<sup>288</sup>Ibid. <sup>289</sup>Ibid. <sup>290</sup>Ibid. <sup>291</sup>Ibid.

<sup>292</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 243.

<sup>293</sup>Ibid.

perfume Margaret's room and would bring her her morning coffee in bed.<sup>294</sup> She did represent something of a "Queen Bee" at the Hive whenever she visited the Farm, although there were some ladies who didn't care for her. Margaret would usually conduct a conversation when visiting the Farm. On one occasion she gave a conversation on Education, emphasizing the question: "What can we do for ourselves and others?"<sup>295</sup> Impulse was another subject which seemed an appropriate theme, since spontaneity was so much in order at the Farm.<sup>296</sup>

From knowing of her experience with the "Conversations" Emerson and Ripley turned to Margaret to serve as the editor of The Dial, which she worked at for five winters.<sup>297</sup> Her annual salary was to be two-hundred dollars, a sum she not always received.<sup>298</sup> Late in 1844 she became a member of Horace Greeley's Tribune staff, being suggested by Mrs. Greeley.<sup>299</sup>

In August of 1846 Margaret went to Europe and in the winter of 1847 she was married to the Marchese d'Ossoli of

<sup>294</sup>Ibid., p. 246.    <sup>295</sup>Ibid.    <sup>296</sup>Ibid.

<sup>297</sup>Goddard, Studies in New England Transcendentalism, p. 91.

<sup>298</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 24.

<sup>299</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 214.

Italy.<sup>300</sup> Since her husband was having revolutionary troubles the marriage was held secret.<sup>301</sup> Her husband fought in the siege of 1849, during which time Margaret assisted Princess Belgiojoso in organizing hospitals.<sup>302</sup> On July 4, the French troops entered Rome. Margaret, her husband and their son, Angelo, fled to Florence, where she took her husband's name and the title of Marquesa.<sup>303</sup> That winter she wrote a history of the Roman Revolution, which was never to be published. The following May, Margaret and her family set sail for America where she hoped to find a publisher.<sup>304</sup> On July 19, 1850, the ship struck a sandbar off Fire Island, with Margaret, family and book all perishing.<sup>305</sup>

Deborah "Ora" Gannett (Sedgwick)

1827-?

Miss Deborah Gannett was sixteen years old when she was at the Farm, being sent there by her parents.<sup>306</sup> Mrs. Gannett had attended some of the earlier Symposia and felt that there would be an excellent group of people at Brook Farm to train her daughter.<sup>307</sup> Deborah's tuition was paid

<sup>300</sup>DAB, s.v. "Fuller, Sarah Margaret."

<sup>301</sup>Ibid.    <sup>302</sup>Ibid.    <sup>303</sup>Ibid.    <sup>304</sup>Ibid.

<sup>305</sup>Goddard, Studies in New England Transcendentalism, p. 91.

<sup>306</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 135.

<sup>307</sup>Ibid.

for, but she worked for her board.<sup>308</sup>

In writing to her good friend Isaac Hecker in 1844, sometime after he had left, she said:

Be free as the birds in the air and fear never to be misunderstood. You are good, Isaac, to feel and say this and if I could be perfectly free 'twould all be well, but 'tis hard to be free entirely; so it ought not to be I know, but so it is, and I can't help, or stay the fact.

I wish I could see you to ask you many questions concerning Catholicism, I feel perfectly much of its beauty. Yet it seems so loaded with shackles, though perhaps not more than other churches. I long to know more of it. That God may bless you, Isaac, is the heartfelt wish of yours through love, Ora. 309

Her devotion to her school work and manual labor at the Farm were great.

#### Horace Greeley

1811-1872

Greeley was born on February 3, 1811 and died on November 29, 1872.<sup>310</sup> He was born at Amherst, New Hampshire of Zaccheus Greeley and Mary (Woodburn) Greeley.<sup>311</sup>

Greeley's irregular schooling ended as such when he was fourteen.<sup>312</sup> When he was twenty years old he set off for New York with twenty-five dollars and his personal pos-

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> "Ora" Gannett, (Unpublished) Letter to Isaac Hecker, [June or July] 1844, from Brook Farm. (New York: Paulist Fathers' Archives).

<sup>310</sup> DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Greeley, Horace."

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.    <sup>312</sup> Ibid.

sessions.<sup>313</sup> He drifted from job to job, apprenticeship to apprenticeship.

On April 10, 1841, with one thousand dollars borrowed from James Coggeshall, he started the New York Tribune.<sup>314</sup> His object was to found "a journal removed alike from servile partisanship on the one hand, and from gagged, mincing neutrality on the other."<sup>315</sup>

Greeley visited Brook Farm but never lived there nor became a member. He took a personal interest in the Farm since several of his friends were there and was glad to give them encouragement in the Tribune.<sup>316</sup> This encouragement, especially through Brisbane, helped to change the Farm from an Association into a Phalanx modelled in part after the plan of Fourier.<sup>317</sup>

Greeley avowed conversion to Fourierism in private, and occasionally in public print.<sup>318</sup> He had been a Socialist years before the Tribune came into existence.<sup>319</sup> He had contributed articles to The Phalanx, which eventually became The Harbinger, when it was edited by Brisbane and Os-

<sup>313</sup>Ibid.    <sup>314</sup>Ibid.    <sup>315</sup>Ibid.

<sup>316</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 276.

<sup>317</sup>Ibid., p. 277.

<sup>318</sup>J. Parton, The Life of Horace Greeley (New York: Mason Brothers, 1855), p. 201.

<sup>319</sup>Ibid., p. 199.

borne Macdaniel from October 5, 1843 to May 28, 1845.<sup>320</sup>

In post-Brook Farm days Ripley and Dana eventually went to work on Greeley's Tribune. When Greeley disagreed with Dana over the conduct of the war, he dismissed him in 1862.<sup>321</sup>

Greeley seldom went to church, but spent the Sunday reading; he was a staunch Universalist, a staunch whig, and a pre-eminently staunch anti-Mason.<sup>322</sup>

### Nathaniel Hawthorne

1804-1864

Hawthorne was born on July 4, 1804 and died on May 18, 1864 at Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>323</sup> His father was Nathaniel Hawthorne, Sr. and his mother was Elizabeth Clarke (Manning) Hawthorne.<sup>324</sup>

His father died when Nathaniel was four years of age and caused his mother to go into isolation and never take even her meals with the rest of the household.<sup>325</sup>

Nathaniel was educated at Bowdoin College from 1821 to

<sup>320</sup> Clarence L. F. Cohdes, The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1931), p. 102.

<sup>321</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 150.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Hawthorne, Nathaniel."

<sup>324</sup> Ibid. <sup>325</sup> Ibid.

1825 where he is said to have "gambled a little, drank rather more, and skylarked a good deal in a robust, athletic innocent way, but after taking his degree he felt no impulse to enter a profession."<sup>326</sup>

On April 13, 1841, Hawthorne joined the Brook Farm experiment, only a few days after Ripley had begun the venture.<sup>327</sup> Hawthorne invested his savings in two shares of the joint stock of the experiment at \$500 a share, with the hope that membership in Brook Farm would provide the means of supporting a wife.<sup>328</sup> He and Sophia Peabody had been engaged for more than two years, and there still was not any financial basis for marriage.<sup>329</sup> He wrote to her saying: "Think that I am gone before to prepare a home for my Dove, and will return for her, all in good time," and again: "There is a brook so near the house that we shall be able to hear its ripple in the summer evenings, and whenever we lie awake in the summer nights."<sup>330</sup> Hawthorne, who had no theories, hoped to find at the Farm a practical basis for his married life.<sup>331</sup> Hawthorne, however, had little luck at combining Farm work with intellectual pursuits. In his

<sup>326</sup>Ibid.    <sup>327</sup>Ibid.

<sup>328</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 54.

<sup>329</sup>Ibid., p. 55.    <sup>330</sup>Ibid.

<sup>331</sup>Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 222.

American Notebooks he wrote on June 1st, 1841:

I have been too busy to write a long letter by this opportunity, for I think this present life of mine gives me an antipathy to pen and ink, even more than my Custom-House experience did. . . . In the midst of toil, or after a hard day's work in the gold-mine [manure-pile] my soul obstinately refuses to be poured out on paper. That abominable gold-mine! Thank God, we anticipate getting rid of its treasures in the course of two or three days! Of all hateful places that is the worst, and I shall never comfort myself for having spent so many days of blessed sunshine there. It is my opinion that a man's soul may be buried and perish under a dung-heap, or in a furrow of the field, just as well as under a pile of money. 332

Curtis has written that Hawthorne showed no affection for Brook Farm although Hawthorne himself referred to his stay as one romantic episode of his life.<sup>333</sup>

Hawthorne was antagonistic toward Margaret Fuller and made comments in his American Notebooks on Margaret Fuller's "Transcendental Heifer" who appeared to try and dominate all the other cows. Hawthorne once wrote that he was invited to dine at Mr. Bancroft's with Miss Margaret Fuller, but Providence had given him some business to do for which he was very thankful.<sup>334</sup>

The farm-work did not prove as idyllic as Hawthorne had thought.<sup>335</sup> This conclusion is reached from a statement that

<sup>332</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, ed. by Sophia Hawthorne (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1868), p. 14.

<sup>333</sup> Curtis, A Season in Utopia, pp. 170-171.

<sup>334</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 165.

<sup>335</sup> Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," Catholic World, p. 20.



Hawthorne made in his successful The Blithedale Romance where he writes: "Intellectual activity is incompatible with any large amount of bodily exercises."<sup>336</sup>

In Years of Experience the writer Georgiana (Bruce) Kirby wrote:

Hawthorne, after spending a year at the Community, had now left. No one could have been more out of place than he in a mixed company, no matter how cultivated, worthy and individualized each member of it might be. He was morbidly shy and reserved, needing to be shielded from his fellows, and obtaining the fruits of observation at second-hand. He was therefore not amenable to the democratic influences at the Community which enriched the others, and made them declare, in after years, that the years or months spent there had been the most valuable ones in their lives. <sup>337</sup>

Writing in his American-Notebooks some twenty years later

Hawthorne says:

But I really judge it to be twenty years since I left Brook Farm; and I take this to be one proof that my life there was an unnatural and unsuitable, and therefore an unreal one. It already looks like a dream behind me. The real Me [sic] was never an associate of the community; there has been a spectral appearance there sounding the horn at daybreak, and milking the cows, and hoeing potatoes, and raking hay, toiling in the sun, and doing me the honor to assume my name. But this spectre was not myself. <sup>338</sup>

Hawthorne severed his relations with Brook Farm by sending a letter dated October 17, 1842 to Dana.<sup>339</sup> It reads:

<sup>336</sup>Ibid.

<sup>337</sup>Georgiana Bruce Kirby, Years of Experience (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887), p. 102.

<sup>338</sup>Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, pp. 16-17.

<sup>339</sup>James Harrison Wilson, The Life of Charles A. Dana (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1907), p. 45.

I ought, some time ago, to have tendered my resignation as an associate of the Brook Farm Institute, but I have been unwilling to feel myself entirely disconnected with you. As I can see but little prospect, however, of returning to you, it becomes proper for me now to take the final step. But no longer a brother of your band, I shall always take the warmest interest in your progress, and shall heartily rejoice at your success -- of which I can see no reasonable doubt. <sup>340</sup>

Hawthorne was married on July 9, 1842, to Sophia Amelia Peabody of Salem, and they made their home in the Old Manse at Concord for three years. <sup>341</sup>

Due to economic necessity the Hawthornes moved back to Salem in 1845 with their child. <sup>342</sup> Much of his best writing took place there: The Scarlet Letter, The Great Stone Face, The House of the Seven Gables, and The Blithedale Romance. <sup>343</sup> In 1853, at nearly the age of fifty, Hawthorne left for Europe for the first time. <sup>344</sup> Here he remained for the next seven years. <sup>345</sup>

In 1860 he returned to Concord and remained a provincial. <sup>346</sup> Here he died quietly in his sleep and was mourned as a classic literary figure. <sup>347</sup>

Isaac Thomas Hecker

1819-1888

Hecker was born in New York on December 18, 1819, of

<sup>340</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>341</sup> DAB, s.v. "Hawthorne, Nathaniel."

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.    <sup>343</sup> Ibid.    <sup>344</sup> Ibid.    <sup>345</sup> Ibid.    <sup>346</sup> Ibid.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid.

John and Caroline (Freund) Hecker, who had been natives of Prussia.<sup>348</sup> At the age of eleven he was forced to leave school to aid his brothers in their bakery.<sup>349</sup> Fortunately he had been motivated by an earlier acquaintance with Orestes Brownson and would read Kant's Critique of Pure Reason as he worked.<sup>350</sup> From philosophy and political science his thoughts turned to religion. In January of 1843, Hecker went to Brook Farm under the advisement of Brownson.<sup>351</sup>

He became a full boarder paying five and one-half dollars a week, a sum which was furnished by his brothers.<sup>352</sup> While at the Farm he took over as head of the bakery department which decreased the amount he had to pay as a boarder. Isaac's unrest grew, and he found that he could not stay at the Farm. Shortly thereafter he went to Alcott's Fruitlands, which was an experience that lasted but two weeks.<sup>353</sup> "The individualism of Transcendentalists repelled him and turned his thoughts toward the ritualistic religions."<sup>354</sup>

In June he had written Brownson from Worcester that he was studying under the Jesuits. He liked the way his teachers understood the scriptural and historic grounds of the Church; on the philosophic basis, however, he found them un-

<sup>348</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Hecker, Isaac Thomas."

<sup>349</sup>Ibid.    <sup>350</sup>Ibid.

<sup>351</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 97.

<sup>352</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>353</sup>DAB, s.v. "Hecker, Isaac Thomas."    <sup>354</sup>Ibid.

satisfactory.<sup>355</sup> Here he says:

Their method is very short in settling difficult points I feel a new generation must take their place if Catholicism is to take its place again in the world. But then I remind myself that I am not planning to be united to them but to the truth. And though I know they have very deep moral virtues, I do wish they would not take so much snuff, Oh, my dear friend, there must be something deeper and more eternal than what we see with the outward senses that can attract a soul to the Church than is now seen in this country. <sup>356</sup>

Rejecting the Episcopal Church, he decided in June of 1844 to become a Roman Catholic.<sup>357</sup> Emerson having heard the news of Isaac's intention made a last attempt to keep him from Rome.<sup>358</sup> He invited Isaac to tea and asked his opinion of some verses he was working on. One such verse was the following:

For what need I of book or priest  
Or sibyl from the storied East,  
When every star is Bethlehem star?  
I count as many as there are  
Cinquefoils or violets in the grass-  
So many saints and saviours,  
So many high behaviors. <sup>359</sup>

When Emerson's Transcendental logic did not move Isaac as religious thought, Emerson took him to visit the Shakers for a day. Finally Emerson and Alcott, who accompanied them reached the topic of Isaac's conversion, being disturbed that one of Emerson's best students should be interested in becom-

<sup>355</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 229.

<sup>356</sup>Ibid.

<sup>357</sup>DAB, s.v. "Hecker, Isaac Thomas."

<sup>358</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 230.

<sup>359</sup>Ibid.

ing a papist.<sup>360</sup> But Hecker turned on his tormentors and said: "I deny you inquisitorial rights," and walked away leaving Emerson and Alcott speechless.<sup>361</sup> Later in his diary Isaac wrote: "They are all alike. Three consecrated cranks is what they are -- Emerson and Alcott and Thoreau. And they'd all rather be cranks than be President."<sup>362</sup> When Hecker came out with his definition of the cult it was not taken too lightly by its devotees. He said that a "Transcendentalist" is one who "has keen sight but is destitute of the rich glow of love. He is in rapport with the spiritual world, but is destitute of the celestial one. He prefers talking about love to possessing it."<sup>363</sup> He said that Thoreau "would have made a great hermit under Catholicism -- perhaps even a minor Saint Francis. And instead he never in all his life was able to distinguish between nature and nature's God."<sup>364</sup>

He was baptized a Catholic by Bishop McCloskey in New York.<sup>365</sup> He applied for admission into the Redemptorist order and was admitted in 1845.<sup>366</sup> The order was in charge

<sup>360</sup>Ibid.    <sup>361</sup>Ibid.    <sup>362</sup>Ibid.    <sup>363</sup>Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>364</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>365</sup>DAB, s.v. "Hecker, Isaac Thomas."

<sup>366</sup>Ibid.

of the German congregations in New York.<sup>367</sup> On October 23, 1849, he was ordained in London by Bishop Wiseman and returned to America in March 1851, whereupon he worked for five years as a Redemptorist missionary.<sup>368</sup> He believed there was a need of an English-speaking Redemptorist house and went to Rome in 1857. Having come without first obtaining permission, he was expelled from the order and Pope Pius IX dispensed Isaac's vows along with four other priests who promoted his venture.<sup>369</sup> In July 1858, Hecker founded the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle.<sup>370</sup>

In 1865 he founded the Catholic World; in 1866 organized the Catholic Publication Society; in 1870 he began the Young Catholic, a paper for children.<sup>371</sup> Hecker thought the Church to be essentially democratic and sought to commend this conception to democratic America.<sup>372</sup>

Hecker died on December 22, 1888.<sup>373</sup>

#### Georgiana (Bruce) Kirby

Georgiana Bruce was about twenty-two years old when she went to Brook Farm on the agreement that she would work eight

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<sup>367</sup>Ibid.    <sup>368</sup>Ibid.    <sup>369</sup>Ibid.    <sup>370</sup>Ibid.    <sup>371</sup>Ibid.

<sup>372</sup>Ibid.    <sup>373</sup>Ibid.

hours each day for board and instruction.<sup>374</sup> She also brought her fourteen year old brother who was received as a pupil-worker.<sup>375</sup>

Her first duties were ironing on certain days and preparing vegetables for dinner.<sup>376</sup> Later she became a teacher in the infant school with Abby Morton.<sup>377</sup> There she taught literature and geography to the younger students.<sup>378</sup>

Before coming to the Farm she had been a governess in Dr. Gannett's home after she came from England, her native home.<sup>379</sup>

Charles K. Newcomb

1820-1894

Charles King Newcomb's nickname at the Farm was "Erasmus."<sup>380</sup> Dr. Codman called him "solitary, self-involved, mysterious and profound."<sup>381</sup> Emerson wrote in his Journals that Charles

is a Religious Intellect. Let it be his praise that when I carried his manuscript story to the woods, and read it in the armchair of the upturned root of a pine tree, I felt for the first time since Waldo's [Emerson's first son] death some efficient faith again in the re-

<sup>374</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 75.

<sup>375</sup>Ibid. <sup>376</sup>Ibid., p. 76. <sup>377</sup>Ibid.

<sup>378</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 137.

<sup>379</sup>Ibid.

<sup>380</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 299.

<sup>381</sup>Cooke, Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight, p. 24.

pairs of the Universe, some independency of natural relations whilst spiritual affinities can be so perfect and compensating. <sup>382</sup>

Newcomb kept a crucifix on his table, between portraits of Xavier and Loyola, with fresh flowers at the foot. <sup>383</sup>

Late at night the Farmers often heard his voice chanting the litany or reading Greek. <sup>384</sup> Brownson's coming always occasioned a talk on Catholicism, Pascal or Port Royal. <sup>385</sup>

This was a theme that pleased Newcomb whose favorite author was Saint Augustine. <sup>386</sup>

### Elizabeth Peabody

1804-1894

Miss Peabody was born on May 16, 1804 and died on January 3, 1894. <sup>387</sup>

As early as 1820 Elizabeth had opened a private school at Lancaster and had begun a life of teaching. Her first pupils being her sisters Mary (who eventually married Horace Mann) and Sophia (who eventually married Nathaniel Hawthorne). <sup>388</sup> Two years later Elizabeth opened a school in Boston, where she also took the opportunity of studying Greek with Ralph

<sup>382</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, Journals, ed. by E. W. Emerson and W. E. Forbes, 10 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909-1914) 6:214.

<sup>383</sup> Brooks, The Flowering of New England, p. 243.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid., p. 244. <sup>385</sup> Ibid., p. 246. <sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Peabody, Elizabeth."

<sup>388</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 260.



Waldo Emerson, then teaching in his brother's own school.<sup>389</sup>  
 In 1825 she became a friend of the W. H. Channing family and for nine years acted as Channing's secretary. She thus became familiar with the writings of Coleridge and other European Transcendentalists.<sup>390</sup>

In 1834 she became Bronson Alcott's assistant in his Temple School in Boston. In 1836 she returned to Salem.<sup>391</sup> She kept her contacts with Boston and became one of the first female members of the Transcendental Club.<sup>392</sup>

Prior to this time she had opened a bookshop on West Street in Boston.<sup>393</sup> Here, as early as 1830, groups of reformers met to plan the Brook Farm experiment, though she never joined the community herself.<sup>394</sup> She did not regard the Farm as a retreat, as Margaret Fuller had confessed to believe, but rather an opportunity for enlarging her moral and intellectual experience.<sup>395</sup> She appears to have been too busy to make frequent visits to the Farm.<sup>396</sup>

From 1850 to 1860 she turned her attention to the advancement of the study of history in the schools.<sup>397</sup> In

<sup>389</sup>DAB, s.v. "Peabody, Elizabeth."

<sup>390</sup>Ibid.    <sup>391</sup>Ibid.    <sup>392</sup>Ibid.

<sup>393</sup>Louise Hall Tharp, The Peabody Sisters of Salem (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), p. 133.

<sup>394</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>395</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 260.

<sup>396</sup>Ibid.

<sup>397</sup>DAB, s.v. "Peabody, Elizabeth."

1859 she established the first American kindergarten; instruction there was modelled after the methods of Froebel.<sup>398</sup> In 1879 she became a member and lecturer at Alcott's Concord School of Philosophy.<sup>399</sup> She died at Jamaica Plain and was buried in Concord next to Emerson and Hawthorne.<sup>400</sup>

Minot Pratt

1805-18 ?

Minot Pratt was about thirty-six years old when he went to Brook Farm, thus joining his family who had preceded his arrival.<sup>401</sup> He had been a printer and foreman in the Christian Register office.<sup>402</sup> At the end of the first season at the Farm he became the head farmer due to his rapidly acquired adaptation of practical agriculture.<sup>403</sup>

In April of 1843 he became a trustee of the Association, taking the place of Ichabod Morton, who had left shortly before.<sup>404</sup> In April of 1845 he and his wife and children left to take possession of a farm in Concord, believing that the Phalanx would be terminated in the not too distant future.<sup>405</sup>

<sup>398</sup>Ibid.    <sup>399</sup>Ibid.

<sup>400</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 184.

<sup>401</sup>Ibid.    <sup>402</sup>Ibid.    <sup>403</sup>Ibid.    <sup>404</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>405</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

George Ripley1802-1880

George Ripley was born on October 3, 1802 in Greenfield, Massachusetts of Jerome and Sarah (Franklin) Ripley.<sup>406</sup>

One of George's maternal great-grandfathers had been Benjamin Franklin's uncle.<sup>407</sup>

Ripley's education began at the public school.<sup>408</sup> The only reminiscence of his early mental habits was a frequently expressed desire to "make a dictionary," which was an interesting anticipation of his future employment.<sup>409</sup>

In 1823 he graduated from Harvard at the head of the class, and the following year was teaching mathematics there; at the same time he attended the Divinity School.<sup>410</sup> He graduated in 1826 and became minister of the Purchase Street Church in Boston.<sup>411</sup> In August of 1827 he married Sophia Willard Dana.<sup>412</sup> During the next few years he was involved with the study of German theology, Kant and especially Schleiermacher.<sup>413</sup> For a short period of time he edited the Christian Register; between 1830 and 1837 he wrote ten articles

<sup>406</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Ripley, George."

<sup>407</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, George Ripley (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), p. 2.

<sup>408</sup>Ibid., p. 3. <sup>409</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>410</sup>DAB, s.v. "Ripley, George."

<sup>411</sup>Ibid. <sup>412</sup>Ibid. <sup>413</sup>Ibid.

for the same organ.<sup>414</sup> The first of these articles was entitled "Degerando," which indicated the theory of self-education as self-development.<sup>415</sup> The second article was on "Religion in France" which contained a plea for spiritual Christianity, without priest, dogma or intellectual limitation.<sup>416</sup> The third was on "Pestalozzi;" this article according to Frothingham might have been one of the prime incentives for the establishment of Brook Farm.<sup>417</sup>

On September 19, 1836, Ripley founded the Transcendental Club.<sup>418</sup> New England notables, such as Emerson, Hedge Clarke, A. B. Alcott, O. A. Brownson, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Peabody, became regulars at the meetings, at which almost any topic related to "the evils of society" with emphasis on slavery, competition and industrialization was discussed.

Urged by Theodore Parker and Dr. Channing, Ripley decided to try and put the theories of the Club into practice by purchasing and organizing a community in West Roxbury on the Ellis farm. "Ripley's ideas took shape in the context of the Jacksonian era which brought the Utopian impulse to

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<sup>414</sup>Frothingham, George Ripley, p. 94.

<sup>415</sup>Ibid. <sup>416</sup>Ibid. <sup>417</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>418</sup>DAB, s.v. "Ripley, George."

its zenith by encouraging men to dream daringly of a new world. . . ." <sup>419</sup> In his farewell sermon to his congregation he told his parishioners that he was "one of the despised Transcendentalists and reform men, and began to cast about to find a proper place in which to live the perfect life." <sup>420</sup>

Hence, the "Brook Farm Association for Education and Agriculture" was put into effect in the spring of 1841. <sup>421</sup> Accompanying Ripley and his wife were Nathaniel Hawthorne, Maria T. Pratt and family, Sarah F. Stearns, Marianne Ripley, Charles O. Whitmore, Charles A. Dana, William B. Allen, and Minot Pratt. <sup>422</sup>

The establishment of the school was immediate, since it was the prime source of revenue for the Farmers. <sup>423</sup> Ripley had sold his German library to Theodore Parker in order to raise more funds for the community. In addition, shares of stock at \$500 a share were sold to interested parties. <sup>424</sup> In planning his experiment Ripley listed dairying, hay, corn and potatoes, vegetables, and fruit for sale as sources of revenue. <sup>425</sup> Unfortunately the Brook Farmers were at times forced to buy vegetables for their own table, and what money

<sup>419</sup> Charles Crowe, George Ripley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), p. 124.

<sup>420</sup> Clarence Gohdes, "Getting Ready for Brook Farm," Modern Language Notes 49 (January, 1934): 36-37.

<sup>421</sup> Frothingham, George Ripley, p. 117.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid., p. 115. <sup>423</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>424</sup> DAB, s.v. "Ripley, George."

<sup>425</sup> Gohdes, Modern Language Notes.

they made came largely from their school and their printing press.<sup>426</sup> The first definite act of the Club was the founding of The Dial which became the organ of the Association until it turned into a Fourieristic Phalanx at which point the Harbinger became the literary organ for spreading the "gospel." Ripley had at one time been editor for each of these publications within a few years of each other.<sup>427</sup>

The experiment lasted until March of 1846 when fire destroyed the Phalanstery, which was to be the main building complex of the community. Ripley then found it necessary to dissolve the experiment and leave for New York.<sup>428</sup> Here he worked for Greeley's Tribune while Mrs. Ripley taught school.<sup>429</sup> In 1858 Ripley and Dana published a sixteen volume American Cyclopaedia which sold more than three million copies, the revenues of which helped to pay the debts incurred from Brook Farm.<sup>430</sup>

Mrs. Ripley died in 1861. A Catholic since 1849, she was buried from the Purchase Street church where Ripley had started as a Unitarian minister, but now it was converted into a Catholic church.<sup>431</sup>

In the autumn of 1865 he married Louisa A. Schlossberg,

<sup>426</sup>Ibid.

<sup>427</sup>DAB, s.v. "Ripley, George."

<sup>428</sup>Ibid.    <sup>429</sup>Ibid.    <sup>430</sup>Ibid.    <sup>431</sup>Ibid.

a German widow thirty years younger than himself.<sup>432</sup> For the first time in his life Ripley went to Europe where he met Huxley, Carlyle, Spencer, and Martineau.<sup>433</sup> Carlyle wrote that Ripley was "a Socinian minister who left his pulpit in order to reform the world by cultivating onions."<sup>434</sup> Ripley was unanimously elected president of the Tribune Association after Greeley's death in 1872.<sup>435</sup> Ripley, himself, died on July 4, 1880.<sup>436</sup>

Sophia Ripley

18 ?-1861

Mrs. Ripley, George Ripley's wife, taught history and modern languages at the Farm.<sup>437</sup> Additional information regarding Mrs. Ripley can be found under her husband's vita.

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<sup>432</sup>Ibid.    <sup>433</sup>Ibid.    <sup>434</sup>Ibid.    <sup>435</sup>Ibid.

<sup>436</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 73.

<sup>437</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

## CHAPTER III

### A LESSON IN COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

#### Introduction

By contemporary definition "cooperative education" is a program of combined study and practice. This type of program is usually conducted on an alternating schedule with provision for on-the-job training and correlated school instruction. As applied to the Brook Farm experiment (1841-1847) however, cooperative education takes on additional aspects. These cooperative aspects will be discussed in this chapter.

The chapter that follows can be divided into three parts. The first indicates the social and religious factors leading up to the experiment's formation. Secondly, the chapter treats the Farm's inception. The last section describes the teachers, students, curriculum, process, and extracurricular educational activities of the Farm. The notion of cooperation in opposition to competition is a central theme throughout the chapter.

#### Characteristics Leading Up to the Experiment's Formation

Brook Farm, like many other experiments of the time



was the outgrowth of social unrest.<sup>1</sup> Though not a religious community, Brook Farm was enthusiastically religious in spirit and purpose. "The faith in the divinity of natural impulse may have been excessive, but emphasis was so strongly put on the divinity that the common dangers of following impulse were avoided."<sup>2</sup> The experiment reflected the liberal religious thought of many New Englanders. The ideology of many New Englanders stressed a liberal freedom from the popular social evils. The New England ideology was expressed by a "flood of romantic speculation with its humanitarian emphasis on the potential excellence of man and the equality of human rights."<sup>3</sup>

Many Unitarian ministers stepped down from their pulpits. In his final address from the pulpit the Unitarian clergyman George Ripley said that he felt the spirit of God was no longer in the churches and that the creed of organized religion was little concerned with the poor and the downtrodden.

Following Ripley's withdrawal from the pulpit, William Henry Channing took counsel with him on whether it would be

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<sup>1</sup>Zoltan Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm (Boston: Trustees of the Boston Public Library, 1937), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, George Ripley (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930), p. 274.

possible to bring cultivated, thoughtful people together, and make a society that deserved the name -- a society that would be based on cooperation.<sup>4</sup> Ripley's plan sought to locate a farm where agriculture and education would be mixed and become the foundation of a new system of social life with everyone in the community taking part in its labor.

### The Farm's Inception

In the summer of 1840 the Ripleys, George and his wife Sophia, boarded on a milk farm (the Ellis farm) in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, a town nine miles from Boston. Approximately one year later the farm, containing about one-hundred and seventy acres of land, was bought from Charles and Maria Ellis.<sup>5</sup> The Ripleys felt as if they had found the place to carry out what had become their greatest desire; that is, to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose social relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than could be led amidst the pressure of competitive institutions.<sup>6</sup>

During the first week in April of 1841 a few cultivated Bostonians went to the roomy homestead in West Roxbury.

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<sup>4</sup>John Thomas Codman, Brook Farm Memoirs (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Lindsay Swift, Brook Farm (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), p. 19.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

Along with George Ripley came his wife Sophia, George's elder sister Miss Marianne Ripley, George P. Bradford, Warren Burton, Nathaniel Hawthorne, the Minot Pratts, Elise Barker, and William Brockway Allen.<sup>7</sup>

Cooperation, equality and independence were key words upon which the constitution of the community was built. To establish external relations of life upon the basis of wisdom and purity and to apply the principles of justice and love to their social organization were central themes.

One year after Ripley had written to Emerson indicating that ". . . the most complete instruction shall be given, from the first rudiments to the highest culture," he announced that they [the members of the community] were now in full operation as a family of workers, teachers and students.<sup>8</sup> All met on an equal basis, and one could find men and women freely involved in the same type of work, study, and leisure activities. The Farmers lived in an atmosphere of fraternity, free from competitive society. Freedom was an important tenet of the Brook Farm philosophy. The experiment was a conscientious attempt to combine cooperative labor with democratic living and the elevation of intellectual life.<sup>9</sup> ✓

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<sup>7</sup>Codman, Brook Farm Memoirs, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Frothingham, George Ripley, p. 308.

<sup>9</sup>James Harrison Wilson, The Life of Charles A. Dana (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1907), p. 32.

### Teachers at the Farm

The school, which often was the only source of income, needed no other advertising than that afforded by the names of the teachers associated with it.<sup>10</sup> The authorities at Harvard became interested in the preparatory school; for they knew that the first scholar in the class of 1823, George Ripley, would demand and maintain a high level of scholarship.<sup>11</sup>

At the beginning of the fall term of 1842, the following people were nominated for positions of teaching at the Farm: George Ripley, instructor in philosophy and mathematics; George P. Bradford, instructor in belles lettres; John S. Dwight, instructor in Latin and music; John S. Brown, instructor in theoretical and practical agriculture; Sophia W. Ripley, instructor in history and modern languages; Marianne Ripley, teacher of the primary school; Abigail Morton and Georgiana Bruce, teachers of the infant school; Hannah B. Ripley, instructor in drawing; and Charles A. Dana, instructor in Greek and German.<sup>12</sup> Miss Amelia B. Russell

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<sup>10</sup> Anna M. Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," Catholic World. 73(1901):21.

<sup>11</sup> Edith Roelker Curtis, A Season in Utopia. (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), pp. 70-71.

<sup>12</sup> Codman, Brook Farm Memoirs, pp. 10-11.

gave lessons in dancing.<sup>13</sup>

George Willis Cooke quotes George P. Bradford as saying: "We were floated away by the tide of young life around us."<sup>14</sup> The classes and days were filled with affection.<sup>15</sup> There was an enlistment of sympathy on the part of the young towards their teachers who were not only of high caliber but devoted to an ideal. The pupils found there a love of mankind and learned that the unification of man with God was a fact and not a dream.<sup>16</sup>

#### The School's Organization

The school was organized into an infant school for children under six; a primary school for those under ten; and a preparatory school for those children whose purpose it was to take a regular course of study in preparation for college.<sup>17</sup> John S. Brown was available to teach a course in theoretical and practical agriculture, which covered a period of three years.<sup>18</sup>

Education at Brook Farm began in the infant school,

<sup>13</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 71.

<sup>14</sup>George Willis Cooke, ed., Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898), p. 9.

<sup>15</sup>Katherine Burton, Paradise Planters (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1939), p. 149.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 70.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

which in reality was a kindergarten -- only the Farmers apparently were not familiar with the term nor the work of Froebel.<sup>19</sup> It was in a way formed out of necessity and demand. The children who were too old for the nursery and too young for the school required some sort of provision while their mothers were at work.<sup>20</sup> The person best suited to fill this position at the Farm was Miss Abby Morton, who was considered to be the ablest teacher for the position. She would arrange games, tell stories, sing songs, and arrange lessons to aid the children's health.<sup>21</sup> Her first objective was to make the children happy and contented.<sup>22</sup> A genial training of their spontaneous playful activities was in order.<sup>23</sup>

### Educational Method

The juvenile minds were drilled into the habit of paying attention. It was felt that those who were born with this gift were the men and women destined for prominent careers; although, the Farmers did feel that it could be developed as second nature for those not born with the gift.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>John Van Der Zee Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm (New York: Desmond FitzGerald, Inc., 1912), p. 107.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 149.

<sup>22</sup>Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm, p. 108.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.    <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

The training of observation, it was thought, would develop the habit of paying attention.<sup>25</sup> All the teachers made conscious efforts to win and hold the attention of their student bodies. This method became an integrated part of the educational plan -- it was made with the intention of forcing the practice of concentrating the mind.<sup>26</sup> Students were allowed five minutes to go from one class to another.<sup>27</sup> Although there were not any bells, the students paid attention to being punctual in their attendance. Punctuality ✓ was a rule which was enforced and required by the pressure of circumstances; that is, being in the right place at the right time.<sup>28</sup> The students were quick to feel the sympathetic interest in their pleasure and work and responded to it.<sup>29</sup>

During the early years of the experiment the chief disciplinary measures consisted in the deliberate attempt to arouse a sense of personal responsibility.<sup>30</sup> Study-hours as such were nonexistent. Each pupil studied when and where it was possible.<sup>31</sup> The older students, busy with other chores in the morning, would give recitations during the latter part of the school day.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.    <sup>26</sup>Ibid.    <sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 121.    <sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 71.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 69.    <sup>31</sup>Ibid.    <sup>32</sup>Ibid.

The boisterousness of youth was almost nonexistent. The boys did not fight, as at other schools of the day. There were three reasons for this lack of activity found commonly at most other schools: (1) the usual artificial conditions were absent; (2) everyone knew the seriousness of the experiment;<sup>33</sup> and (3) the students were treated with courtesy, and had few rules to bind them.<sup>34</sup> They were treated politely and in an adult fashion. As Emerson said:

. . . each was master or mistress of his or her actions; ✓  
happy, hapless anarchists. They expressed, after much  
perilous experience, the conviction that plain dealing  
was the best defense of manners and moral [sic; morals?]  
between the sexes. People cannot live together in any  
but necessary ways. 35

Sincere cordiality was a prominent characteristic of the Farmers in their relations with one another.<sup>36</sup> The "enchantments of poetry with the facts of daily experience" was an outward showing of the inward spirit of Brook Farm. It was impossible to distinguish between the members and the pupils when it came to the matter of attachment to the Brook Farm cause.<sup>37</sup> This attachment strengthened cooperation

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>34</sup>Ora Gannett Sedgwick, "A Girl of 16 at Brook Farm," Atlantic, 85(March, 1900):399.

<sup>35</sup>Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson (New York: Wm. H. Wise and Company, 1929), p. 1057.

<sup>36</sup>Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm, p. 74.

<sup>37</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 70.



among the members in all the activities of the Farm. The excellence of the teaching staff coupled with the cooperation and attention of the students made for an excellent school.

Charles Lane, who helped A. B. Alcott with his Fruitlands experiment, wrote in The Dial of January, 1844, that the school at Brook Farm was superior to almost every other educational institution in New England because it was based on the theories and practices of the Swiss educational pioneer, Pestalozzi.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps it is not altogether incorrect to assert that the seeds of their educational program and methodology lay here; for it is known that George ✓ Ripley was no foreigner to Pestalozzi's work.

Nearly ten years before the Brook Farm experiment, Ripley had reviewed an exposition entitled "Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education," by E. Biber for the Christian Examiner. Three characteristics of the new pedagogy were not only analyzed but praised by Ripley: Pestalozzi's insistence that education was a process of "leading out" potential characteristics; his emphasis on practical, vocational instruction and "object teaching," as opposed to verbalism; and his dependence on "mutual instruction."<sup>39</sup> Ripley

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<sup>38</sup>Charles Lane, "Brook Farm," The Dial 4(January, 1844):353.

<sup>39</sup>George Ripley, "Review of Biber's 'Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education,' " Christian Examiner 11(January, 1832):351-356.

also liked the fact that sedentary occupations were exchanged for constant exercise in the open air.<sup>40</sup> Another point of interest which Ripley put into effect at the Farm was the Pestalozzian system of mutual instruction whereby: "Everyone was a teacher of what he knew, and everyone, even the head himself, a learner of what he knew not."<sup>41</sup>

The Brook Farm teachers anticipated the theory of learning from experience of John Dewey.<sup>42</sup> They taught their children from life primarily and books secondarily, from observation and not from authority.<sup>43</sup> School became a place of exploration, discovery, and cooperation. The personal qualities and enthusiastic devotion to the teachers' work commanded success.<sup>44</sup> ✓

Georgianna Bruce (Kirby) confirmed the fact that a child-centered theory of education was constantly reinforced at the Farm.<sup>45</sup> She also added:

The old system . . . poured everything into the memory and kept pouring without reference to natural capacity and powers of digestion and assimilation. The new plan was precisely the opposite of this: viz, to evolve all out of an open mind by appealing to intuition and reason.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.    <sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Cooke, Early Letters of George W. Curtis to John S. Dwight, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.    <sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>45</sup>Georgianna Bruce, "Reminiscences of Brook Farm," Old and New 3(April, 1871):148.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

### Curriculum

All of the studies at the Farm were made living subjects with the instructors enlarging on favorite themes.<sup>47</sup> Georgiana Bruce explains that the subjects were a matter of choice, and the pressure so often attached in courses was not present at the Farm.<sup>48</sup> There always seemed to be a guardian on hand to give direction to whatever was going on.<sup>49</sup> Instructors would take time from their own leisure to assist others who could not be "smart" but who would be appreciative.<sup>50</sup> Every type of good nature was encouraged at the Farm.<sup>51</sup>

The Farm was practically an industrial school. Instruction in the useful arts was given regularly as part of the educational course.<sup>52</sup> Literature, drawing, music, and dancing were taught, but not with the same emphasis as the industrial arts.<sup>53</sup>

Botany was a popular part of the curriculum with those who felt their first real contact with natural beauty.<sup>54</sup> School work was done as far as was possible in the outdoors.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Georgiana Bruce Kirby, Years of Experience (New York: Putnam, 1887), p. 98.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm, p. 125.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 120.    <sup>51</sup> Ibid.    <sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>54</sup> Swift, Brook Farm, p. 73.

<sup>55</sup> Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm, p. 121.

"They were interested in nature as an evidence of God's provision of a habitat congenial to man's soul and in human nature as a revelation of the spiritual affinity of man with God."<sup>56</sup>

Teachers and students alike loved to be in the open.

As John Van Der Zee Sears, a former pupil at the Farm, wrote:

All summer long classes were held in the amphitheater, under the elms, on the rocky or the grassy slopes of the Knoll. Of course there were many lessons that could be given only in classrooms, but recitations, examinations and mental exercises generally were relegated to regions beyond the threshold. Botany, geology, natural history and what was then called natural philosophy were taught among the rocks, in the woods and in the fields with illustrations from nature. <sup>57</sup>

The students studying the flora on the Farm and in the neighborhood would also acquaint themselves with animal life and learn the animals and plants habits and characteristics.<sup>58</sup> As Sears said: "Kindness to animals was taught and practiced first, last and all the time, . . ."<sup>59</sup>

Education was not limited to the child population at the Farm. Shakespeare, Goethe, and Carlyle were favorite readings given in the evening adult classes at the Farm.<sup>60</sup> The scholarly members of the Association preferred evenings that

<sup>56</sup>R. Freeman Butts and L. A. Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 168.

<sup>57</sup>Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm, p. 121.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 122. <sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>60</sup>Mitchell, "The Brook Farm Movement Viewed through the Perspective of Half a Century," Catholic World, 73(1901):22.

were intellectually stimulating.<sup>61</sup> On these evenings George Ripley might elucidate Kant or Spinoza while his wife might take the opportunity to read Dante aloud in the original.<sup>62</sup> "There was a genuine passion for improvement in intellectual arts, a thirst for knowledge, a hunger for mental stimulus of a powerful kind."<sup>63</sup>

### Finale

The economic problems that beset the Farmers eventually opened the door to Albert Brisbane, the apostle of Fourierism in this country. During the Fourier period the reputation of the school declined. According to Marianne Dwight "it was not from want of talent to conduct the teaching art, but rather that that talent had been diverted for a time in the transition to Fourierism."<sup>64</sup> The ideas set forth by Charles Fourier were not accepted in total by the Farmers, but rather constituted a selection of some of his ideas. Fourier had believed that education should be communal; thus the child would be brought up as a member of a larger social

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<sup>61</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 89.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Frothingham, George Ripley, p. 129.

<sup>64</sup>Marianne Dwight, Letters from Brook Farm, Amy L. Reed, ed. (New York: Vassar College, 1928), p. 169.

unit.<sup>65</sup> In a manner similar to Plato, Fourier wanted to destroy the family as a social and educational entity. In eliminating the immediate family unit a larger family unit was to be created. This was the purpose behind the building of the phalanstery, by the Farmers, which burned down when near completion, thus leaving them bankrupt.

In the final analysis it can be considered that education at Brook Farm was a consensus of the ideas of Emerson, Pestalozzi, Fourier, and the Farmers; the educational scheme at the Farm took something from each of them. The experiment then put these ideas into action without realizing the subtle synthesis that developed; that is, they selected those points from each of the preceding individuals which were of personal interest to them, and then put these ideas jointly into action. There was no separation of thought concerning the selection since the Farmers all directed themselves towards one cause. The Farmers' commitment was one although their intellectual backgrounds were varied. The curriculum, while transmitting certain material, was more concerned with the teaching of process and thinking as useful tools than making heads merely filled with facts commensurate with being knowledgeable.

Perhaps the way to sum up the community's educational

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<sup>65</sup>David Zeldin, The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1969), p. 51.

significance in relation to its people is to put forth Emerson's statement that:

. . . they made what all people try to make, an agreeable place to live in. . . . There is agreement in the testimony that it was, to most of the associates, education; to many, the most important period of their life, the birth of valued friendships, their first acquaintance with the riches of conversation, their training in behavior. 66

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<sup>66</sup> Emerson, The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, p. 1056.

## CHAPTER IV

### AXIOLOGY

#### Strategy of this Chapter

The strategy employed in this chapter is one of descriptive analysis in which I use various Brook Farm documents as sources of information. First of all, I have used only documents which I feel reflect the axiological positions of Brook Farm. Secondly, I have placed these documents in the time sequence of their individual appearance. Upon reading each document, the reader will find a discussion of the material with reflections being made on the times and the experiment itself.

Following the documents and their analytical discussions are a series of axiological topics which are followed by a discussion of Brook Farm's axiology in relation to these topics. Thus, the reader will find such topics as: "Summum Bonum"; "The Criteria of Conduct"; "The Motivation of Conduct"; "An Eclectic Axiology"; "An Idealistic Axiology?"; "Subjective versus Objective"; and "Brook Farm's Educational Axiology"; along with "The American Dream".

#### Purpose of this Chapter

When one writes about the axiology of a nation in general or an isolated part of that society, it is necessary to



select those letters and documents that set down the principles which guide that society and give some notion of the values that that society under discussion pledges allegiance to. The next step is to determine whether that nation or society reflects the principles of those documents or whether those papers are only worth the paper they're written on.

The purpose of this chapter reflects these assertions and more, for only through understanding the Brook Farmer's axiology can one understand the motives behind all other activities.

### Introduction

For many, in the nineteenth century, the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights were hypocritical documents. They believed that the immoral notion of competition was intrinsic to the documents and that where indicated "all men" were not treated equally. With many an intellectual taking a hard look at the national documents came the equal consideration of church doctrine and dogma being dishonored by unworthy patrons. Hence, some New England Unitarian ministers felt that church doctrine and dogma were meaningless in the hands of congregational hypocrites, and sought solutions to the problems of the day. One such minister was George Ripley, who, with the urging of the great Dr. Channing, chose to take an active role in the reorganization of society.

Document 1

A letter from George Ripley to Ralph Waldo Emerson,

Boston, November 9, 1840

My Dear Sir, Our conversation in Concord was of such a general nature, that I do not feel as if you were in complete possession of the idea of the Association which I wish to see established. As we have now a prospect of carrying it into effect, at an early period, I wish to submit the plan more distinctly to your judgment, that you may decide whether it is one that can have the benefit of your aid and cooperation.

Our objects, as you know, are to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor, adapted to their tastes and talents, and securing to them the fruits of their industry; to do away the necessity of menial services, by opening the benefits of education and the profits of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more simple and wholesome life, than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions.

To accomplish these objects, we propose to take a small tract of land, which, under skillful husbandry, uniting the garden and the farm, will be adequate to the subsistence of the families; and to connect with this a school or college, in which the most complete instruction shall be given, from the first rudiments to the highest culture. Our farm would be a place for improving the race of men that lived on it; thought would preside over the operations of labor, and labor would contribute to the expansion of thought; we should have industry without drudgery, and true equality without its vulgarity.

I can imagine no plan which is suited to carry into effect so many divine ideas as this. If wisely executed, it will be a light over this country and this age. . . . I believe in the divinity of labor; I wish to "harvest my flesh and blood from the land;" but to do this, I must either be insulated and work to disadvantage, or avail myself of the services of hirelings, who are not

of my order, and whom I can scarce make friends; for I must have another to drive the plough, which I hold. . . . I wish to see a society of educated friends, working, thinking, and living together, with no strife, except that of each to contribute the most to the benefit of all. . . . 1

Ripley tried with all earnestness to convince Emerson to join the experiment. Emerson never saw himself as a farmer although he had promoted such an idea for Ripley and others, but not for himself. It appears that Emerson was very secure in his household at Concord; to pick up his roots and abandon his tranquil homespun life was too much to ask, especially to sacrifice all for such an experiment. Emerson distrusted the reformers of his day, although he always sympathized with their ideas and activities.<sup>2</sup>

In response to this letter of Ripley's, Emerson wrote in his Journals on October 17, 1840 that: "I do not wish to remove from my present prison to a prison a little larger, I wish to break all prisons. I have not yet conquered my own house." Thus, it appears that Emerson did indeed have "complete possession of the idea of the Association" which Ripley was promoting.

This letter, however, goes further than a mere invitation; for Ripley explains that emphasis in this community will

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<sup>1</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, George Ripley (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1882), pp. 307-312.

<sup>2</sup>Van Wyck Brooks, Emerson and Others (New York: The Literary Guild, 1927).

be put upon joining the thinker and the worker in "a more natural union." This "natural union" would be the combination of the thinker and the worker without the pressure of competitiveness. The community was to be based on mutual cooperation of friends.

Document 2

Letter from Samuel Osgood, Nashua,

November 21, 1840, to John Sullivan Dwight

I was in Boston last week, and saw Ripley and our other friends. What exciting times these are. Do you hear of the New Harmony, which is probably about to be established by him, Emerson, etc.? Really one is almost tempted to join them for better or for worse. However, it is well to wait for a knowledge of their plans before undertaking to praise or blame them. I am reading Brisbane's book on the reorganization of Society. I understand, however, that our new-light Socialists eschew Brisbane's dictum. I hope we shall see their projected Utopia realized. 3

I can imagine what objective speculations were made about the community that Ripley was to form, especially with Robert Owen's failure only shortly past. The excitement by Socialists and reformers gave Ripley great impetus to begin the community at West Roxbury, which emphasized cooperation and a planned society of sorts.

Anyone knowing Ripley would, however, find it somewhat hard to believe that he would copy Owen's experiment. Ripley

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<sup>3</sup>Zoltan Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm (Boston: Public Library, 1937), p. 14.

knew and admired Owen, but he was a bitter opponent of Owen's theory of human nature, his hostility towards religion, and many of his ideas on communitarian living.<sup>4</sup> Other Associationists even thought less of Owen, and John S. Dwight can be found dismissing New Lanark as "merely a cotton mill with some humane and benevolent arrangements."<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the excitement called attention to whatever kind of community was to be established.

### Document 3

Letter from R. W. Emerson, Concord, December 15,  
1840, to George Ripley

My Dear Sir, . . . I have decided not to join it & yet very slowly & I may almost say penitentially. I am greatly relieved by learning that your coadjutors are now so many that you will no longer ascribe that importance to the defection of individuals which you hinted in your letter to me . . . might . . . attach to mine.

The ground of my decision is almost purely personal to myself. I have some remains of skepticism in regard to the general practicability of the plan, but these have not much weighed with me. That which determines me is the conviction, that the Community is not good for me. Whilst I see it may hold out many inducements for others it has little to offer me which with resolution I cannot procure for myself. It seems to me that it would not be worth my while to make the difficult exchange of my property in Concord for a share in the new Household. . . .

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<sup>4</sup>Charles Crowe, George Ripley (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), p. 200.

<sup>5</sup>John S. Dwight, The Harbinger 4(1847)4:188-189.

. . . I am already in the act of trying some domestic & social experiments which my present position favors. And I think that my present position has even greater advantages than yours would offer me for testing my improvements in those small private parties into which men are all set off already throughout the world. <sup>6</sup>

When Emerson declined Ripley's invitation to join him in his experiment, Ripley was saddened, but forged ahead with notice of Charles Anderson Dana's decision to join. It appears that Ripley needed the support of certain notables to give him the confidence to believe in himself.

#### Document 4

"Rev. George Ripley," an article in The Monthly

Miscellany of Religion and Letters, May, 1841

It is with sincere regret, and with a sense of personal loss, that we notice Mr. Ripley's retirement from the ministry in this city (Boston). . . . His plans for the future are connected with the education of the young of both sexes. His immediate object, as we understand, is the gathering of a cooperative association for the purposes of practical education. We can discover nothing chimerical or "Transcendental" in this scheme. On the contrary, it seems to us both practical and practicable. It proposes to unite the advantages of physical and intellectual development for the young, and of mental culture and healthful and economical habits for older persons, under social relations which it is thought will be favorable to these ends. By a partial combination of their several resources many individuals may obtain facilities of improvement and enjoyment beyond what any of them could separately command, while private tastes and domestic associations will be carefully respected. The

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<sup>6</sup>Ralph L. Rusk, ed., The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 2 vols., (New York: Columbia, 1939)2:368-371.

union of persons of different philosophical and theological views in this enterprise is a security against the existence, and should be protection against the imputation, of any sectarian design. . . . 7

I believe that the gentle quality expressed by this article indicates that Ripley's withdrawal from the pulpit, though immediate, was not an unconscious emotional plunge. His withdrawal was comparatively easy and in a way almost inevitable.

Ripley felt that he could no longer serve the ministry nor his congregation since he believed the people he served to be hypocrites. He believed that man must and should act the same way during the week as he did on Sundays rather than participating in competition and the evils of society created by the organization of that society and its values.

The author of this article is wise in pointing out that it appeared that there was nothing "Transcendental" about the plan, and that there was to be "a partial combination of their several resources." Brook Farm was not a community in the usual sense of the term. There was no element of "socialism" in it.<sup>8</sup> In fact it can probably be summed up in a quote from a letter that Dr. Channing wrote Rev. Adin Ballou, February 27, 1841. He wrote:

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<sup>7</sup>"Rev. George Ripley," an article in The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters (May, 1841):293-295.

<sup>8</sup>Frothingham, George Ripley, p. 118.

I have for a very long time dreamed of an association in which the members, instead of preying on one another, and seeking to put one another down, after the fashion of this world, should live together as brothers, seeking one another's elevation and spiritual growth. 9

Document 5

Letter from Nathaniel Hawthorne, Boston,

July 1841, to David Mack

. . . I have never felt that I was called upon by Mr. Ripley to devote so much of my time to manual labor, as has been done, since my residence at Brook Farm; nor do I believe that others have felt constraint of that kind from him personally. We have never looked upon him as a master, or an employer, but as a fellow laborer on the same terms with ourselves, with no more right to bid us perform any one act of labor than we have to bid him. Our constraint has been entirely that of circumstances which were as much beyond his control as our own; and as there is no way of escaping this constraint except by leaving the farm at once - and that step none of us were prepared to take because . . . we still felt that its failure would be very inauspicious to the prospects of this community. . . . It is true that I do not infrequently regret that the summer is passing with so little enjoyment of nature and my own thoughts and with the sacrifice of some objects that I had hoped to accomplish. . . . These considerations have somewhat lessened the heartiness and cheerfulness with which I formerly went forth to the fields and perhaps have interposed a medium of misunderstanding between Mr. Ripley and us all. His zeal will not permit him to doubt of eventual success; and he perceives, or imagines a more intimate connection between our present farming operations and our ultimate enterprise than is visible to my perceptions. . . . 10

Hawthorne believed that by becoming a member of the community he would be assured financial solvency due to his in-

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Manning Hawthorne, "Hawthorne and Utopian Socialism," The New England Quarterly, 12(1939):727-729.



vestment in two shares of Brook Farm stock at \$500 per share. He hoped to marry Sophia Peabody when he was financially secure and thought the Farm would help to bring this companionship about. He also felt that he would have a great deal of leisure time to devote to his writing, but soon found that he was so tired from the daily chores that he could not muster enough energy to lift his pen. Ripley, on the other hand, had put so much of his spirit into the Farm that one would think twice before complaining about their chores at the Farm. Taking note of Ripley's frame of mind, one could hardly imagine that the Farm would not be a success.

#### Document 6

#### The earliest articles of association at Brook Farm

Articles of Association made and executed this twenty-ninth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, by and between the several persons and their assigns, who have given their signatures to this instrument and by it associated themselves together for the purpose and objects hereinafter set forth: -

Art. I. The name and style of this Association shall be The Subscribers to the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education; and all persons who shall hold one or more shares of the stock of the Association shall be members; and every member shall be entitled to one vote on all matters relating to the funds of the Association.

Art. II. The object of the Association is to purchase such estates as may be required for the establishment and continuance of an agricultural, literary, and scientific school or college, to provide such lands and houses, animals, libraries and apparatus, as may be found expedient or advantageous to the main purpose of the Association.

Art. III. The whole property of the Association, real and personal, shall be vested in and held by Four Trustees to be elected annually by the Association.

Art. IV. No shareholder shall be liable to any assessment whatever on the shares held by him, nor shall he be held responsible individually in his private property on account of this Association; nor shall the Trustees, or any officer or agent of the Association, have any authority to do anything which shall impose personal responsibility on any shareholder by making any contracts or incurring any debts for which the shareholders shall be individually or personally responsible.

Art. V. All conveyances to be taken for lands or other real estate purchased by the Association in pursuance of these articles shall be made to the Trustees, their successors in office or survivors as joint tenants, and not as tenants in common.

Art. VI. The Association guarantees to each shareholder the interest of five percent annually on the amount of stock held by him in the Association, and this interest may be paid in certificates of stock and credited on the books of the Association; provided, however, that each shareholder may, at the time of the annual settlement, draw on the funds of the Association, not otherwise appropriated, to an amount not exceeding that of the interest credited in his favor.

Art. VII. The shareholders on their part, for themselves, their heirs and assigns, do renounce all claim on any profits accruing to the Association for the use of their capital invested in the stock of the Association, except five percent, interest on the amount of stock held by them, payable in the manner described in the preceding article.

Art. VIII. Every subscriber may receive the tuition of one pupil for every share held by him, instead of five percent interest, as stated above, or tuition to an amount not exceeding twenty per cent, interest on his investment.

Art. IX. The capital stock of the Association, now consisting of Twelve Thousand Dollars, shall be divided into shares of Five Hundred Dollars each, and may be increased to any amount at the pleasure of the Association.

Art. XII. These articles, it is understood and agreed on, are intended for the safe, legal, and orderly holding and management of such property real and personal as shall further the purposes of the "Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education," to which Institute this Association of subscribers is subordinate and auxiliary.

#### Subscription

We, the undersigned, do hereby agree to pay the sum attached to our names, to be invested in the Brook Farm Institute

of Agriculture and Education, according to the conditions described in the foregoing Articles of Association. Date, 1841

Names	Shares	Sums
George Ripley.....	No. 1, 2, and 3.....	\$1,500
Nath. Hawthorne.....	" 18 and 19.....	\$1,000
Minot Pratt.....	" 4, 5, and 6.....	\$1,500
Charles A. Dana.....	" 10, 11, and 12.....	\$1,500
William B. Allen.....	" 7, 8, and 9.....	\$1,500
Sophia W. Ripley.....	" 16 and 17.....	\$1,000
Maria T. Pratt.....	" 20 and 21.....	\$1,000
Sarah F. Stearns.....	" 22 and 23.....	\$1,000
Marianne Ripley.....	" 13, 14, and 15.....	\$1,500
Charles O. Whitmore.....	" 24.....	\$ 500 11

This set of articles forms a legal basis for tying the Farmers together. The legal document, as it is, allows for great flexibility in terms of what the Farm, as a joint stock company can do in carrying out the guidance of real and personal property. The document also illustrates a great deal of fairness to the share-holder in offering a no-responsibility clause on debts.

I would venture to speculate that the document was drawn up with every notion of being as attractive to prospective share-holders as possible. The reason for this attractive-

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<sup>11</sup>Brook Farm Records. Unpublished and incomplete Records of Brook Farm brought forward and deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society by Miss Effie Ellis, daughter of Charles and Maria M. Ellis, original owners of the Brook Farm property. Among these unpublished papers are the Articles of Association and the official copy of the First Constitution, and entries of all committee meetings recorded by the Secretary from April 1841 to October 1847. These documents were made available to the author through the courtesy of MHS via the microreproduction laboratory of M.I.T. Libraries. Hereafter designated as Brook Farm Records, courtesy MHS.

ness was probably that the economic depression of 1837 required any new financial venture to be more attractive and secure than the specie-payment transactions of pre-depression days.

The Association was a joint-stock company, and was not incorporated. Every individual who held one or more shares of stock was to be considered a member of the Association and was allowed one vote on matters relating to the disposition of the stock company's funds. The property was to be held by four trustees, who were to be chosen each year by the Association.

By 1843 it was realized that the Association had not brought a sufficient number of new members to take up any large amount of stock; thus, the outgo exceeded the income.<sup>12</sup> The Farmers found themselves taking additional mortgages and finally becoming incorporated by the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the name of the Brook Farm Phalanx. The Phalanx assumed the payment of all debts and obligations contracted by the former joint-stock company.<sup>13</sup> After the burning of the Phalanstery, which occurred March 3, 1846, it became far more difficult to raise capital or to dispose of stock.

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<sup>12</sup>Lindsay Swift, Brook Farm (The Macmillan Company, 1900), p. 22.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

Document 7

Elizabeth P. Peabody, "Plan of the West Roxbury Community,"

January, 1842

In the last number of the Dial were some remarks, under the perhaps ambitious title, of "A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Socceity;" in a note to which, it was intimated, that in this number, would be given an account of an attempt to realize in some degree this great Ideal, by a little company in the midst of us, as yet without name or visible existence. The attempt is made on a very small scale. A few individuals, who, unknown to each other, under different disciplines of life, reacting from different social evils, but aiming at the same object, - of being wholly true to their natures as men and women; have been made acquainted with one another, and have determined to become the Faculty of the Embryo University.

In order to live a religious and moral life worthy the name, they feel it is necessary to come out in some degree from the world, and to form themselves into a community of property, so far as to exclude competition and the ordinary rules of trade; -- while they reserve sufficient private property, or the means of obtaining it, for all purposes of independence, and isolation at will. They have bought a farm, in order to make agriculture the basis of their life, it being the most direct and simple in relation to nature. . . . <sup>14</sup>

Miss Peabody's article which appeared in The Dial sounds not only like an explanation of the community but a defense as well. I believe this to be so because she tries to justify the need of individuals to come out in some measure from the world in order to form a society that would be based on moral principles and values. I think it is important to note that she indicates that, while the Brook Farmers share every-

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<sup>14</sup>Elizabeth P. Peabody, "Plan of the West Roxbury Community," The Dial 4(January, 1842)2:361-372.

thing in common, they still remain independent when it comes to personal property. This sharing takes on the characteristic of a democratic society, that is, in working for the common good but retaining independence.

Miss Peabody's article of 1841 in The Dial on "A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society" presented Ripley's ideas to the public for the first time. This latter article gave an account of what was then going on, and did little more than add compatibility to theory and practice of the venture. She granted that it was far from perfect but that one should "let the spirit of God move freely over the great deep of social existence, and a creative light will come at His word."<sup>15</sup>

#### Document 8

From Albert Brisbane, "Spread of the Doctrine of Association,"

December 5, 1843

. . . It must be deeply gratifying to the friends of Association to see the unexampled rapidity with which our Principles are spreading throughout this vast country. Would it not seem that this very general response to, and acceptance of, an entirely new and radically reforming doctrine by intelligent and practical men, prove that there is something in it harmonizing perfectly with the ideas of truth, justice, economy, and order, and those higher sentiments implanted in the soul of man -- which, although so smothered at present, are awakened when the correspondences in doctrine or practice are presented to them clearly and understandingly.

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<sup>15</sup>Louise Hall Tharp, The Peabody Sisters of Salem (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), p. 141.

The name of FOURIER is now heard from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; . . . 16

By 1843 financial problems had beset Brook Farm. The situation was conducive to suggestions on organizing the experiment so that it would become successful. Brisbane, the apostle of Fourierism in this country, saw his chance. With the help of column space in Horace Greeley's Tribune, Brisbane began to spread the teachings of Fourier, the French social reformer. Brisbane was not motivated by a passionate sympathy for human suffering but rather by his interest in social reform and the intellectual task of reconstructing institutions.

With Greeley as a publisher and Brisbane as a theorist the movement needed only a practical communitarian leader, and George Ripley whose experiment had already received some notoriety seemed like a good candidate. Ripley was ready for conversion when Brisbane and Greeley called upon him during the summer of 1843 to write a constitution for the North American Phalanx.<sup>17</sup> Ripley realized that Brook Farm needed some sort of coherent formal plan for economic and social organization. The pressure to change to a Fourieristic

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<sup>16</sup>Albert Brisbane, "Spread of the Doctrine of Association," Phalanx 1(December 5, 1843)1:34.

<sup>17</sup>John Humphrey Noyes, History of American Socialisms (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870). Accounts of the early communities can be found in the A. J. McDonald MSS, in the Yale University Library, which were used by Noyes in the preparation of his History of American Socialisms.

community was great.

Document 9

Charles Lane on "Brook Farm"

January, 1844

. . . The motives which bring individuals there, may be as various as their numbers. In fact, the present residents are divisible into three distinct classes; and if the majority in numbers were considered, it is possible that a vote in favor of self-sacrifice for the common good would not be very strongly carried. The leading portion of the adult inmates, they whose presence imparts the greatest peculiarity and the fraternal tone to the household, believe that an improved state of existence would be developed in association, and are therefore anxious to promote it. Another class consists of those who join with the view of bettering their condition, by being exempted from some portion of worldly strife. The third portion, comprises those who have their own development or education, for their principal object.

. . .

In education, Brook Farm appears to present greater mental freedom than most other institutions. The tuition being more heart-rendered, is in its effects more heart-stirring. The younger pupils as well as the more advanced students are held, mostly if not wholly, by the power of love. In this particular, Brook Farm is a much improved model for the oft-praised schools of New England. It is time that the imitative and book-learned systems of the latter should be superseded or liberalized by some plan, better calculated to excite originality of thought, and the native energies of the mind. The deeper, kindly sympathies of the heart, too, should not be forgotten; but the germination of these must be despaired of under a rigid hireling system. Hence, Brook Farm, with its spontaneous teachers, presents the unusual and cheering condition of a really "free school."

. . . It is not a community: it is not truly an association: it is merely an aggregation of persons, and lacks that oneness of spirit, which is probably needful to make it of deep and lasting value to mankind. It seems, even after three years' continuance, uncertain, whether it is to be resolved more into an educational, or an industrial institution, or into one combined of both. . . .



The following Constitution is the same as that under which we have hitherto acted, with such alterations as on a careful revision seemed needful. All persons who are not familiar with the purposes of Association, will understand from this document that we propose a radical and universal reform, rather than to redress any particular wrong or to remove the sufferings of any single class of human beings. We do this in the light of universal principles, in which all differences, whether of religion, or politics, or philosophy, are reconciled, and the dearest and most private hope of every man has the promise of fulfilment. Herein, let it be understood, we would remove nothing that is truly beautiful or venerable; we reverence the religious sentiment in all its forms, the family, and whatever else has its foundation either in human nature or the Divine Providence. The work we are engaged in is not destruction, but true conservation: it is not a mere revolution, but, as we are assured, a necessary step in the course of social progress which no one can be blind enough to think has yet reached its limit. . . .18

Charles Lane, who for a time was closely associated with Alcott, visited Brook Farm and contributed articles to The Dial. The article given above is critical but not unsympathetic and clearly indicative of the interest which Lane had for the experiment.

The thing I find interesting is how well this article survived Brook Farmer criticism; for here Lane points out that Brook Farm was neither a Community nor an Association. How observant and objective was the self-proclaimed expert who had been involved in the failure of the Fruitlands experiment the previous December. Thus, though published by The Dial, his article was not taken too seriously by the

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<sup>18</sup> Charles Lane, "Brook Farm," The Dial 4 (January, 1844) 4:351-357.

Farmers. Why? Because the Farmers felt both that they possessed the oneness of spirit which Lane says they lacked and that the lack of organization they did reflect were only in economic matters.

Document 10

From Albert Brisbane and Osborne Macdaniel

"What Is Association?"

. . . An Association is a body of persons (1800 individuals, men, women and children, or about 300 families, are the proper number for a complete Association) united voluntarily for the purpose of prosecuting with method and order, Industry, Education, Commerce, and the Arts and Sciences -- of establishing concert of action and unity of interests (not community of property) -- of applying their efforts in the best and most judicious manner -- of dignifying Labor and rendering it honorable and ATTRACTIVE -- of dividing equitably the product of their labor, every individual receiving a share according to the part taken in producing it, and giving to Labor, Skill and Capital, each, a just proportion or dividend -- of realizing great collective economies -- of introducing every facility and the most efficient means of education, moral, mental and physical, which will be extended to all children without exception -- of living together in friendly union and concord, and enjoying the varied pleasures of extended and congenial social relations, and the pursuits of useful industry and exalting art and science, and of directing their energies and talents so as to conduce to the greatest happiness of the Whole. 19

This letter from Brisbane defines "Association" and gives a much clearer picture of some of Fourier's more conservative ideas. "Attractive Industry" was one idea that

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<sup>19</sup>Albert Brisbane and Osborne Macdaniel, "What is Association?" Phalanx 1(January 5, 1844):56-57..

every Farmer held out as being an outstanding consideration.

By "Attractive Industry" Fourier meant that each individual should move towards those occupations which naturally interest him. In this way the individual is never frustrated because he is doing something which he does not enjoy doing.

Fourier defines "attraction" as consisting of twelve passions. There are five sensitive passions which are concerned with the satisfaction of the five senses; four affective passions which influence men's relations with others -- namely, their family, their friendships, their sex life and their ambitions; the final three are the distributive passions of rivalry, boredom and enthusiasm which modify the exercise of the other passions.<sup>20</sup> Thus the satisfaction of the five senses; the gratification of the individual's desire for human links; and the adjustment of these passions to enhance them and to prevent them from conflicting takes place in the phalange. In this phalange or phalanstery there would be no repression of any desire or talent. Thus, Ripley felt that this scheme of things would solve a number of the problems at the Farm.

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<sup>20</sup>David Zeldin, The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier (London: Frank Cass & Company Ltd., 1969), p. 20.

Document 11

Constitution of the Brook Farm Association, for Industry and  
Education, West Roxbury, Mass. With An Introductory  
Statement, January 18, 1844

The Association at Brook Farm, has now been in existence upwards of two years. Originating in the thought and experience of a few individuals, it has hitherto worn, for the most part, the character of a private experiment, and has avoided rather than sought, the notice of the public. It has, until the present time, seemed fittest to those engaged in this enterprise to publish no statements of their purposes or methods, to make no promises or declarations, but quietly and sincerely to realise, as far as might be possible, the great ideas which gave the central impulse to their movement. It has been thought that a steady endeavor to embody these ideas more and more perfectly in life, would give the best answer, both to the hopes of the friendly and the cavils of the sceptical, and furnish in its results the surest grounds for any larger efforts. Meanwhile every step has strengthened the faith with which we set out; our belief in a divine order of human society, has in our own minds become an absolute certainty; and considering the present state of humanity and of social science, we do not hesitate to affirm, that the world is much nearer the attainment of such a condition than is generally supposed.

The deep interest in the doctrine of Association, which now fills the minds of intelligent persons every where, indicates plainly that the time has passed when even initiative movements ought to be prosecuted in silence, and makes it imperative on all who have either a theoretical or practical knowledge of the subject to give their share to the stock of public information.

Accordingly, we have taken occasion at several public meetings recently held in Boston, to state some of the results of our studies and experience, and we desire here to say emphatically, that while on the one hand we yield an unqualified assent to that doctrine of universal unity which Fourier teaches, so on the other, our whole observation has shown us the truth of the practical arrangements which he deduces therefrom. The law of groups and series is, as we are convinced, the law of human nature, and when men are in true social relations their industrial

organization will necessarily assume those forms. . . .

. . . Such an institution, as will be plain to all, cannot by any sure means, be brought at once and full grown into existence. It must at least in the present state of society, begin with a comparatively small number of select and devoted persons, and increase by natural and gradual aggregations. With a view to an ultimate expansion into a perfect Phalanx, we desire without any delay to organize the three primary departments of labor, namely, Agriculture, Domestic Industry, and of every doctrine and institution it has bequeathed us; thus also we perceive that the Present has its own high mission, and we shall only say what is beginning to be seen by all sincere thinkers, when we declare that the imperative duty of this time and this country, nay more, that its only salvation, and the salvation of all civilized countries, lies in the Reorganization of Society, according to the unchanging laws of human nature and of universal harmony.

We look, then, to the generous and hopeful of all classes for sympathy, for encouragement and for actual aid, not to ourselves only, but to all those who are engaged in this great work. And whatever may be the result of any special efforts, we can never doubt that the object we have in view will finally be attained; that human life shall yet be developed, not in discord and misery, but in harmony and joy, and that the perfected earth shall at last bear on her bosom a race of men worthy of the name.

George Ripley  
Minot Pratt        - Directors  
Charles A. Dana

#### CONSTITUTION

1844

In order more effectually to promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence; to substitute a system of brotherly cooperation for one of selfish competition; to secure to our children and those who may be entrusted to our care the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual and moral education, which in the progress of knowledge the resources at our command

will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient, and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety, by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation, by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other forever the means of physical support, and of spiritual progress; and thus impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement, and moral dignity, to our mode of life; -- we the undersigned do unite in a voluntary Association, and adopt and ordain the following articles of agreement, to wit:

## Article I

### Name and Membership

Sec. 1. The name of this Association shall be "The BROOK-FARM ASSOCIATION FOR INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION." All persons who shall hold one or more shares in its stock, or whose labor and skill shall be considered an equivalent for capital, may be admitted by the vote of two-thirds of the Association, as members thereof.

Sec. 2. No member of the Association shall ever to subjected to any religious test; nor shall any authority be assumed over individual freedom of opinion by the Association, nor by one member over another; nor shall any one be held accountable to the Association, except for such overt acts, or omissions of duty, as violate the principles of justice, purity, and love, on which it is founded; and in such cases the relation of any member may be suspended or discontinued, at the pleasure of the Association.

## Article II

### Capital Stock

Sec. 1. The members of this Association shall own and manage such real and personal estate in joint stock proprietorship, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, as may from time to time be agreed on.

Sec. 2. No share-holder shall be liable to any assessment whatever on the shares held by him; nor shall he be held responsible individually in his private property on account of the Association; nor shall the Trustees or any officer or agent of the Association have any authority to

do any thing which shall impose personal responsibility on any share-holder, by making any contracts or incurring any debts for which the share-holders shall be individually or personally responsible.

Sec. 3. The Association guaranties to each share-holder the interest of five per cent. annually on the amount of stock held by him in the Association, and this interest may be paid in certificates of stock and credited on the books of the Association; provided that each share-holder may draw on the funds of the Association for the amount of interest due at the third annual settlement from the time of investment.

Sec. 4. The share-holders on their part for themselves, their heirs and assigns, do renounce all claim on any profits accruing to the Association for the use of their capital invested in the stock of the Association, except five per cent, interest on the amount of stock held by them, payable in the manner described in the preceding section.

### Article III

#### Guaranties

Sec. 1. The Association shall provide such employment for all its members as shall be adapted to their capacities, habits, and tastes; and each member shall select and perform such operations of labor, whether corporal or mental, as shall be deemed best suited to his own endowments and the benefit of the Association.

Sec. 2. The Association guaranties to all its members, their children and family dependents, house-rent, fuel, food, and clothing and the other necessities of life, without charge, not exceeding a certain fixed amount to be decided annually by the Association; no charge shall ever be made for support during inability to labor from sickness or old age, or for medical or nursing attendance, except in case of share-holders, who shall be charged therefor, and also for the food and clothing of children, to an amount not exceeding the interest due to them on settlement; but no charge shall be made to any member for education or the use of the library and public rooms.

Sec. 3. Members may withdraw from labor, under the direction of the Association, and in that case, they shall not be entitled to the benefit of the above guaranties.

Sec. 4. Children over ten years of age shall be provided with employment in suitable branches of industry; they shall be credited for such portions of each annual dividend, as shall be decided by the Association, and on

the completion of their education in the Association at the age of twenty, shall be entitled to a certificate of stock to the amount of credits in their favor, and may be admitted as members of the Association.

#### Article IV

##### Distribution of Profits

Sec. 1. The nett (sic) profits of the Association, after the payment of all expenses, shall be divided into a number of shares corresponding to the number of day's labor; and every member shall be entitled to one share for every day's labor performed by him.

Sec. 2. A full settlement shall be made with every member once a year, and certificates of stock given for all balances due; but in case of need to be decided by himself, every member may be permitted to draw on the funds in the Treasury to an amount not exceeding the credits in his favor for labor performed.

#### Article V

##### Government

Sec. 1. The government of the Association shall be vested in a board of Directors, divided into four departments, as follows: 1st, General Direction; 2d, Direction of Education; 3d, Direction of Industry; 4th, Direction of Finance; consisting of three persons each, provided that the same person may be elected member of each Direction.

Sec. 2. The General Direction and Direction of Education shall be chosen annually, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Association. The Direction of Finance shall be chosen annually, by the vote of a majority of the share-holders and members of the Association. The Direction of Industry shall consist of the chiefs of the General Direction shall be the President of the Association, and together with the Direction of Finance, shall constitute a board of Trustees, by whom the property of the Association shall be held and managed.

Sec. 4. The General Direction shall oversee and manage the affairs of the Association, so that every department shall be carried on in an orderly and efficient manner.



Sec. 5. The departments of Education and Finance shall be under the control each of its own Direction, which shall select, and in concurrence with the General Direction, shall appoint such teachers, officers, and agents, as shall be necessary to the complete and systematic organization of the department. No Directors or other officers shall be deemed to possess any rank superior to the other members of the Association, nor shall they receive any extra remuneration for their official services.

Sec. 6. The department of Industry shall be arranged in groups and series, as far as practicable, and shall consist of three primary series; to wit, Agricultural, Mechanical, and Domestic Industry. The chief of each series shall be elected every two months by the members thereof, subject to the approval of the General Direction. The chief of each group shall be chosen weekly by its members.

## Article VI

### Miscellaneous

Sec. 1. The Association may from time to time adopt such bye-laws, not inconsistent with the spirit and purpose of these articles, as shall be found expedient or necessary.

Sec. 2. In order to secure to the Association the benefits of the highest discoveries in social science, and to preserve its fidelity to the principles of progress and reform, on which it is founded, any amendment may be proposed to this Constitution at a meeting called for the purpose; and if approved by two-thirds of the members at a subsequent meeting, at least one month after the date of the first, shall be adopted. 21

Again the reader will see several legal organizational characteristics in the Articles of 1844, but now a constitution is added. I should point out that John Thomas Codman is in error here. Codman who wrote Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs was a member of the Farm at one time.

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<sup>21</sup>Brook Farm Records.

He leads the researcher astray when he says that the Brook Farm Constitution was written before the Farmers ever left Boston to start the experiment; in fact, it was written some three years later.

It is curious to note that after approximately three years of discussion relating to what Brook Farm should stand for have passed and finally at a time when economic problems arise and a reorganizational action begins to take place, the Farmers should set down, in a very formalized manner, their constitution.

#### Document 12

Letter from Convers Frances to Theodore Parker

June 22, 1844

. . . I understand they are trying to come, as much as possible, into the Fourier system. I have great regard for these people; at any rate they are willing to make some attempt towards the true doctrines of labor & life; & are trying to live out what they believe to be the truth. Yet I always feel a distrust of all plans like Fourier's, which would seem to say, "go to now, by means of mechanical arrangements & Progressive series we will construct a perfect form of society." It seems too much like applying mathematics & mechanism to a free soul, too much like attempting so to arrange mankind, that the square of the oblique diagonal of conduct shall be equal to the two squares of the base of nature, & the perpendicular of education. But I find Swedenborgians are much struck with Fourier's systems; it is, they think, a correspondence of outward organization to what Swedenborg has revealed of spirit life, -- the form which represents the social theory of souls in the spirit world. So at least it is spoken of. God speed any attempt to

emancipate us from the perverse and artificial ways of living which so often oppress us we know not why. . . .<sup>22</sup>

Convers Francis, pastor of the First Church in Watertown, Massachusetts, was of the older generation, but rejoiced in many of the reforms of the day. This document clearly shows that he felt that Fourier's system was merely mechanical and would serve as a setback to the new reforms of the day. Fourier's ideas, so Francis believed, would make society dependent on an impersonal mechanical program and keep America on the track of an artificial society.

### Document 13

#### Notice to the Second Edition of the Constitution of the Brook Farm Association

December 9, 1844

Since the publication of the first edition of our Constitution and Introductory Statement, the public interest in Association, has greatly increased both in this vicinity, and throughout the country generally. With the conviction now beginning to pervade all classes of society, that the incoherence and conflict of interests which characterize civilization, there can be no permanent security either for private rights or public order, the doctrines of social unity, and attractive industry, are taking a sure and deep hold. Already the Phalansterian movement in the United States embraces persons of every station in life, and in its extent, and influence on questions of

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<sup>22</sup>From a letter from Convers Frances, Cambridge, Mass., to Theodore Parker, in London, dated June 22, 1844, found as a holograph in the Abernethy Library of American Literature, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont. Also to be found in Henry W. Sams, ed., Autobiography of Brook Farm (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 118.

importance, is fast assuming a national character.

In this state of things, the friends of the cause will be gratified to learn, that the appeal in behalf of Brook Farm, contained in our Introductory Statement, has been generally answered, and that the situation of the Association is highly encouraging. In the half year that has been enlarged by the subscription of about ten thousand dollars. Our organization has acquired a more systematic form, though with our comparatively small numbers we can only approximate to truly scientific arrangements. Still with the unavoidable deficiencies of our groups and series, their action is remarkable, and fully justifies our anticipations of great results from applying the principles of universal order to industry.

In education also, we have succeeded in introducing arrangements of great value, which would be impossible in a society of isolated families; though this, as well as other departments, is still in process of formation.

We have made considerable agricultural improvements; we have erected a workshop sixty feet by twenty-eight, for mechanics of several trades, some of which are already in operation, and we are now engaged in building a section, one hundred and seventy-five feet by forty, of a Phalanstery or Unitary dwelling. Our first object is to collect those who, from their character and convictions, are qualified to aid in the experiment we are engaged in, and to furnish them with convenient and comfortable habitations, at the smallest possible outlay. For this purpose the most careful economy is used, though we are yet able to attain many of the peculiar advantages of the associated household. Still for a transitional society, and for comparatively temporary use, a social edifice cannot be made free from the defects of civilized architecture. When our Phalanx has become sufficiently large, and has in some measure accomplished its great purposes, the Serial organization of labor and Unitary education, we shall have it in our power to build a Phalanstery with the magnificence and permanence proper to such a structure.

Cheering as are the results of our endeavors, we wish to have it distinctly understood that they have been, and for some time must be, merely preparatory labors. We would then again invite the personal cooperation of all suitable persons, and the investment of the funds necessary to a complete application of Fourier's theory of industrial organization.

We call upon the wise and humane to lend their aid to an undertaking which, in the growing insufficiency and insecurity of civilized institutions bases its promise of a better state of things not on mere human wisdom, but on the science of universal laws. We appeal to those who can perceive that the true road to general well-being, is not to be reached by legislative deliberations, or by political or benevolent expedients, but by reverent investigation of the methods of divine order and faithful application of the same to society; -- to those who look with alarm upon the growth of pauperism, and civilized slavery; -- to those who in despairing sympathy for the masses begin to feel the necessity of an integral philanthropy; -- but more than all, to those who are inspired by the sublime ideas of social and universal unity with a deeper faith in God, and a more assured hope of man.

We appeal to them for assistance in the practical demonstration of a scientific theory, which solves the great social problems that have convulsed the world for the last century, and which discloses to man a destiny worthy of his aspirations and energies, and of that beneficent and infinite Being by whom the universe is forever upheld and renewed. 23

If one reads the Notice to the Second Edition of the Constitution of Brook Farm isolated from the facts of the movement he would find himself reading a very optimistic program. The document elaborates on the new organization of the experiment and the improvements made there. The notice is propagandistic to say the least. It was an attempt to recruit new members and stockholders with the use of such ego-building phrases as "We call upon the wise and humane . . . ." The pressure was on the Brook Farmers to become more financially solvent, especially since they had taken several mortgages on

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<sup>23</sup> "Notice to the Second Edition of the Constitution of the Brook Farm Association," Phalanx 1(December 9, 1844):305.

property. But while this plea for help is extended to the reader of the document there still remains the ideals to which they held.

Document 14

A notice in the Phalanx

May 28, 1845

The Harbinger  
Devoted to Social and Political Progress  
Published simultaneously at New York and  
Boston, by the Brook Farm Phalanx

Under this title it is proposed to publish a weekly newspaper, for the examination and discussion of the great questions in social science, politics, literature, and the arts, which command the attention of all believers in the progress and elevation of humanity.

In politics, the Harbinger will be democratic in its principles and tendencies; cherishing the deepest interest in the advancement and happiness of the masses; warring against all exclusive privilege in legislation, political arrangements, and social customs; and striving with the zeal of earnest conviction, to promote the triumph of the high democratic faith, which it is the chief mission of the nineteenth century to realize in society. Our devotion to the democratic principle will lead us to take the ground of fearless and absolute independence in regard to all political parties, whether professing attachment to that principle or hostility to it. We know that fidelity to an idea can never be measured by adherence to a name; and hence we shall criticise all parties with equal severity; though we trust that the sternness of truth will always be blended with the temperance of impartial candor. With tolerance for all opinions, we have no patience with hypocrisy and pretence; least of all, with that specious fraud, which would make a glorious principle the apology for personal ends. . . . 24

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<sup>24</sup> A notice in the Phalanx 1(May 28, 1845)1:354.

On June 14, 1845, The Harbinger, "devoted to social and political progress," made its appearance as the successor to The Phalanx, which Albert Brisbane and Osborne Macdaniel had edited. The editor of The Harbinger was George Ripley, who was assisted by C. A. Dana and J. S. Dwight.

In addition to the information given in the document Ripley further held that the periodical would accept "all that in any way indicates the unity of Man with Man, with Nature and with God."<sup>25</sup>

Even though the purpose of this periodical seems fairly broad, there is no evidence to suggest that it had friends in addition to those interested in social reform. In terms of locality most subscribers were living in New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, where Fourierism was a popular topic.<sup>26</sup>

In 1846 there is a note that indicates that one subscriber from New Orleans supplied the necessary funds so that the periodical could be sent to the senior class of "every college in the United States, with few exceptions."<sup>27</sup>

#### Document 15

"The Working Men's Movement," by George Ripley  
1846

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<sup>25</sup>Clarence L. F. Gohdes, The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970), p. 103.

<sup>26</sup>The Harbinger, 2:271 & 300.

<sup>27</sup>Gohdes, The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism, p. 104.

We wish to neglect no opportunity of declaring our earnest sympathy with the principles and objects of the Reform movement by the Workingmen of New England. It has always given us the liveliest pleasure to co-operate with its advocates whenever it has been in our power, and although we were unable to attend its recent meeting in Boston, we rejoice in the spirit of union and determined zeal which it exhibited, and would fain express our hearty good wishes for the accomplishment of the objects, which it brought forward.

The movement among the Workingmen is a proof among ten thousand others, of the correctness of the views of social progress set forth by the immortal Fourier. He shows, with the clearness, as it were, of anatomical demonstration, the successive phases of society, the elements contained in its progressive development, and the different means by which an escape can be made from the miseries of the present order, called Civilization. . . . 28

Again the reader finds Ripley expounding on the virtues of Fourier, and how social progress can be attained by following the "immortal" leader.

I think another avenue of thought besides the propagandistic effect of such documents should be taken up. Here I am specifically concerned with the notion that Fourier took Emerson's place in the hearts of many reformers. With Fourier dead, his ideas were defended by his apostles, and he surely had a more definite plan for social reform than did Emerson or Dr. Channing.

In a way this type of document is used as a pretense to congratulate the Working Men's Movement while justifying the

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<sup>28</sup>George Ripley, "The Working Men's Movement," The Harbinger (June 13, 1846-December 5, 1846)3:30.



Brook Farmer's adoption of Fourier's plan

With this adoption the community lost its unique character and became one of a large number of experiments conducted in various parts of the country by the Associationists. ✓

Document 16

From Nathaniel Hawthorne, "A Modern Arcadia,"

Chapter VIII of The Blithedale Romance

On the whole, it was a society such as had seldom met together; nor, perhaps, could it reasonably be expected to hold together long. Persons of marked individuality -- crooked sticks, as some of us might be called -- are not exactly the easiest to bind up into a fagot. But, so long as our union should subsist, a man of intellect and feeling, with a free nature in him, might have sought far and near without finding so many points of attraction as would allure him hitherward. We were of all creeds and opinions, and generally tolerant of all, on every imaginable subject. Our bond, it seems to me, was not affirmative, but negative. We had individually found one thing or another to quarrel with in our past life, and were pretty well agreed as to the inexpediency of lumbering along with the old system any further. As to what should be substituted, there was much less unanimity. We did not greatly care -- at least, I never did -- for the written constitution under which our millennium had commenced. My hope was, that, between theory and practice, a true and available mode of life might be struck out; and that even should we ultimately fail, the months or years spent in the trial would not have been wasted, either as regarded passing enjoyment, or the experience which makes men wise. . . . 29

Although Hawthorne's book, The Blithedale Romance, was supposedly a fictitious work, the similarities between the

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<sup>29</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne 12 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1900) 8:84-91.

plan and the people with Brook Farm cannot be denied.

The contemporary insight which Hawthorne observes makes it true for any age; for here we find the restless individual at odds with the old system -- the old ways, anxiously looking for an alternative. The problem arises when a substitute is sought and "fools rush in." But Hawthorne seems to say that the "fool" has at least had the experience which makes him wiser for it; and the individual has brought to the attention of others that theory and practice should coincide.

#### Document 17

#### "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England,"

by R. W. Emerson

. . . There was no doubt great variety of character and purpose in the members of the community. It consisted in the main of young people, few of middle age, and none old. Those who inspired and organized it were of course persons impatient of the routine, the uniformity, perhaps they would say the squalid contentment of society around them, which was so timid and skeptical of any progress. One would say then that impulse was the rule in the society, without centripetal balance; perhaps it would not be severe to say, intellectual sans-culottism, and impatience of the formal, routinary character of our educational, religious, social and economical life in Massachusetts. Yet there was immense hope in these young people. There was nobleness; there were self-sacrificing victims who compensated for the levity and rashness of their companions.

. . . The Founders of Brook Farm should have this praise, that they made what all people try to make, an agreeable place to live in. All comers, even the most fastidious, found it the pleasantest of residences. It is certain that freedom from household routine, variety of character and talent, variety of work, variety of means of thought and instruction, art, music, poetry, reading, masquerade,

did not permit sluggishness or despondency; broke up routine. . . . 30

Although Emerson never joined the Brook Farm community, it appears he had a certain degree of fondness for the Farmers. Emerson further gives the Farmers praise in that they made an agreeable place to live in -- and that what was something that all people tried to do. One must wonder if Emerson did not give these praises because of some guilt feeling he retained for not having joined the venture.

#### Summum Bonum

The preceding documents must be viewed in light of the Brook Farm movement, but also with a clear understanding of why there was a Brook Farm movement. The Farmers and their patrons were against competition, selfish individualism and the social progress that had accompanied the industrial revolution. The Farm was a response to social unrest that concerned the intellectuals of New England. In a word the Summum Bonum was "cooperation."

George Ripley as a concerned Unitarian minister saw the hypocritical carry-over in his congregation that he saw in society. He felt that not until men could live on weekdays as they lived on Sundays would it be possible for man to achieve moral and social progress.<sup>31</sup> He knew this progress to be im-

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Edward Waldo Emerson, Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 10 vols., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904)10: 359-369.

possible as long as men lived in a competitive economic society.

Ripley and his coadjutors regarded slavery as just one more manifestation of the evils of competition, hence the elevation of cooperation became a way of living. The Farmers instilled the cooperative effort of each individual doing his share for the common welfare in the children, workers, and boarders at the Farm.

The Farmers believed that only in a cooperative society could man unfold his potential freely. This principle brings to mind Pestalozzi's Theory of Organic Development and Froebel's Doctrine of Preformation. This unfolding, however, was more for the Farmers than a vocationally directed activity; for it centered on the unfolding of humanity which they claimed was inherent in each one's soul.

### The Criteria and Motivation of Conduct

From the Brook Farm objective of living, that is, cooperation, follows the practical principles for everyday living and the interests which guide that conduct.

The prospective Farmers and other reformers felt concerned for the future that would emerge from the chaotic selfish individualism of the depression and post depression days. They foresaw only chaos and strife if society were not brought to a wiser understanding of values. The experiment was not an attempt to revert to the Puritan or Calvinistic ideas. It was merely an attempt to instill concern, responsibility, and

cooperation among the members of society. "Brook Farm grew out of the impact of the industrial revolution upon the social conscience of New England."<sup>31</sup> George Ripley was a man of action -- a social reformer. With a little urging from friends he decided to construct a plan for the reform of society by establishing a model community. He felt this withdrawal to be necessary since man, so he believed, was involved in an intricate and unchristian social labyrinth.<sup>32</sup>

The discussion while seemingly easy is somewhat difficult; for although no religion was practiced in common by the Brook Farm community their criteria for conduct appears religious in nature. They believed God's plan for society to be more than the competitive atmosphere demonstrated by the rest of society. And yet this cooperation was to strengthen individual freedom. Thus, an altruistic motivational picture is painted whereby the interests of others were severed by an individual's actions. One would then realize his own selfhood in helping others.

The Transcendental notion of uplifting the human spirit was taken up by Ripley and others as a weapon against the social problems of the day. Transcendentalism's chief importance was in the fact that it was ceaselessly trying to

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<sup>31</sup>Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), p. 347.

<sup>32</sup>John Thomas Codman, Brook Farm Memoirs (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), p. 3.

teach a deeper sense of the rights and claims of others. It was a substitute of brotherly cooperation for selfish competition. It is fair to make the assertion that this notion of brotherly cooperation becomes the most outstanding value in the minds of the Farmers, and from cooperation freedom follows.

Their emphasis on the value of freedom dealt with a limited freedom; that is, the freedom to be good, kind, and responsible rather than selfish and competitive. The Farmers endeavored to live in conformity to what they held to be fundamental, ethical principles, freed from all forms of supernaturalism; to promote by example the great purposes of human culture; to establish external relations of life upon the basis of wisdom and purity; and to apply the principles of justice and love to their social organization.

### Subjective Versus Objective

The Farmers believed that the elevation of the human spirit was possible, that cooperation was the greatest aim, and that thought should preside over the operations of labor and labor should contribute to the expansion of thought. In this respect the Farmers were like-minded. Thus these ideals which were thought to be right or correct in the subjective sense were also thought right in the objective sense. What they felt was good and possible for themselves in terms of these ideals was thought to be possible for other members of

the community.

So what is found initially is a subjective axiology without the stress of pressure; that is, the individual Brook Farmer never forced another to see his way, but rather allowed the circumstances and discussion to work on other member's "free floating" spirit which would assuredly see the truth without force from any other individual.

Thus, the actions of community members were never condemned; for a central drive and spirit were present, even in the children, making them united in ideals but not in property.

#### An Eclectic Axiology or An Idealistic Axiology?

If one looks at Emerson as a guiding force, in the wings, behind the Brook Farm movement, then one would believe that the Farmers' philosophical position was eclectic; for Emerson did not construct a consistent original system but drew on many sources; among them were: the Hindus, Plato, New-Platonists, Kant, Coleridge, Carlyle, and the Bible.

The same can be said of the Brook Farmers in general with a Swedenborg and a Fourier added to the list. They looked at themselves as more than theorists. Their axiology was applied, for they were concerned ultimately with the conduct of life. But more importantly the defining philosophical leaning comes in the form of "Transcendental Idealism." This view is supported in that the fundamental but vaguely-defined notion of mysticism lies at the basis of their philosophy regardless of

its practical applications. This mysticism entertained the thought that God and man are akin and in a reciprocal relationship. In his famous essay on "The Transcendentalist," Emerson said: "What is popularly called Transcendentalism among us is Idealism; Idealism as it appears in 1842."<sup>33</sup>

Thus the philosophy was not pure Kantian. It was the coupling of some of Kant's ideas as interpreted by Coleridge and Carlyle, oriental mysticism, and Neoplatonic Idealism. Insofar as these points of view have at center the elevation of the human spirit, the Brook Farmers had a patch-work philosophy taken from various sources; but with concern in additional areas like freedom and cooperation.

#### Brook Farm Educational Axiology

The values of cooperation and freedom were not limited to the society of the Farm but permeated the school as well. The students were sympathetic to the ideals held by their teachers and other members of the community. The students were fully aware of the seriousness of the Farmers' experiment and lived each day in accordance with the plan.

Freedom in the school, as in the community, was tempered by the circumstances under which both existed. "Each individual was master or mistress of his or her action; . . ."

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<sup>33</sup>Emerson, Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1:329.



but these actions were consciously carried out with the success of the experiment in mind. The educational policy of the Farm permitted the greatest freedom between teachers and students, who also worked together in tilling and cultivating the land.

Freedom in Brook Farm education also provided exploration and discovery since students were taught from life primarily and books secondarily. Thus, academic freedom was enlarged upon, but was coupled with academic excellence. The proof of this excellence lies in the fact that all those taking the Harvard entrance exam, who had been students at Brook Farm, were admitted.

The students gained more than an excellent academic education at Brook Farm. They were taught the principles of love, justice, purity, wisdom, and truthfulness. The spirit with which the movement developed was expressed by these principles.

Ripley's educational thought reflected an optimistic view about the possibilities of human development, an emphasis on self-culture, self-development, a romantic conception of children and the education they should receive, a democratic bias, and an insistence on spreading culture to the laboring classes.<sup>34</sup> He saw all human life as educational progress

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<sup>34</sup> George Ripley, "Review of Biber's 'Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education,'" " Christian Examiner 11(Jan., 1832) :351-356.

toward the goal of intellectual and moral perfection.

In regards to cooperation and freedom Ripley felt that the teacher should proceed with the affectionate care of a mother to cultivate instincts, and encourage the autonomous self rather than to mechanically distribute mere facts into passive minds with harsh discipline.

### The American Dream

The intellectual reformers were optimistic about America's future despite the social evils of the day and the depression of 1837. It was as if America had been abused by hypocrites and the Brook Farmers were out to do America a good deed, that is, to make Americans worthy of America in terms of pointing out the ideals upon which America was built.

The notion of "the Spirit of America" can be found in this attitude demonstrated by the Farmers' quasi-religious community. American ideals were integrally a part of their fundamental thinking. Thus, optimism, individualism, democracy, and self-reliance became important beliefs.

According to Frederic Carpenter, James T. Adams' book entitled Epic of America was the first to name and describe this dream clearly, and was also the first to identify Emerson with it specifically:

The American dream -- the belief in the value of the common man, and the hope of opening every avenue of opportunity to him -- was not a logical concept of thought. Like every great thought that has stirred and advanced humanity, it was a religious emotion, a

great act of faith, a courageous leap into the dark unknown. As long as that dream persists to strengthen the heart of man, Emerson will remain one of its prophets.<sup>35</sup>

Without any great scientific theory, the community started, as other Yankee experiments have done, with the purpose of feeling its way toward cooperation, by the light of experience and common sense.

### Finale

The Farmers maintained cooperation and freedom as their primary values from which all others followed. They sought to create, on a small scale, a society worthy the quality of freedom and equality that the United States was based on. They were idealists in that they believed these values to be inherent intrinsically in the structure of the universe; it was only necessary to foster cooperation for man to develop his good qualities. They wanted these values to be carried out in daily living and not merely be a topic of discussion. Thus, the values of freedom and cooperation were reflected in their educational program as if the school was an extension of community life and community life merely an extension of the educational program. ✓

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<sup>35</sup>James Truslow Adams, The Epic of America (Boston, 1932), p. 198. Cited by Frederic Carpenter, Emerson Handbook (New York: Hendricks House, Inc., 1953), p. 154.

## CHAPTER V

### EPISTEMOLOGY

#### Strategy of this Chapter

What I will do in this chapter is to give a definition of epistemology that the Brook Farmers would agree upon. The task was one of developing a broad definition rather than stipulating any one definitive statement. The definition was in turn developed from the considerations which Dr. Channing, Emerson, and Ripley gave to the topic. From these definitions follow the ways in which they were employed at the Farm.

#### Introduction

From an epistemological standpoint the Farmers leaned towards a coupling of Transcendentalism and Idealism. Their sources of enlightenment came mainly from Dr. Channing, Emerson, and Ripley. To some degree they were influenced by the writings of Plato, Kant, Carlyle, Coleridge, Swedenborg, and eventually Fourier.

A paradox arises here, in that the Transcendentalists wanted Americans to stop imitating their European heritage and yet they themselves turned towards the European intellectuals as speakers of the holy word for social reform. While the Channings, Dr. William Ellery Channing and his nephew William Henry Channing, advocated the Transcendental Idealistic

thought mostly by word of mouth, Emerson lent his pen profusely to the cause.

The themes which appear prominent in the Channings and Emerson's works are the elevation of mankind towards perfection and that of attaining Truth through insight and intuition.

### The Epistemology of Dr. Channing

William Ellery Channing, like Emerson, believed in the possibilities of human perfection. The mind of man, so Channing believed, is capable of continuous growth. This uncompleted potential appears to have carried with it the notion that freedom is necessary for man to continually seek an ever-unfolding potential.

Channing's Transcendental philosophy sought the release of emotions previously prisoned by Puritanism. In a sense Channing's Transcendentalism dealt with the mode of recognition of objects; that is, faith was the ability to view outward truth directly, and reason became the eye that views inward truth. This philosophical view evolved into a study of the fundamental conceptions which transcend the sphere of experience, and are a kind of intuited truth.

Channing's desire to promote insight took on many a religious character. At the ordination of Rev. E. S. Gannett in 1824, Channing said that

Much as the age requires intellectual culture in a minister, it requires still more, that his acquisitions of truth

should be instinct with life and feeling; that he should deliver his message not mechanically and 'in the line of his profession,' but with the sincerity and earnestness of a man bent on great effects; that he should speak of God, of Christ, of the dignity and loveliness of christian virtue, of heaven and redemption, not as of traditions and historical records, about which he has only read, but as of realities which he understands and feels in the very depths of his soul. <sup>1</sup>

Thus, Channing is seen as having a central concern for the ministry and the type of minister that was going on in the capacity of minister and what kind of spiritual leader that individual was to be. Channing probably felt that the mechanistic society was having a detrimental influence on the ministry as well and that the clergy should be on their guard against the shackles of mechanism.

### Emerson and Epistemology

Three years after his return from England in 1833, Emerson published a brief pamphlet entitled Nature. In the pamphlet Emerson proposed the inquiry: "To what end is Nature?" The publication made the assertions that

Man is conscious of a Universal within or behind his individual consciousness, with the spirit being compelled to manifest itself through the reason in various forms; the Over-Soul (individual consciousness) is God working "through His own instruments" (mankind); that the laws of Nature are a constant discipline to man; and the noblest ministry of Nature is to stand as the apparition of God. <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>William Ellery Channing, Discourses, Reviews, and Miscellanies (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830), p. 376.

<sup>2</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, Transcendentalism in New England (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876), p. 136.

Emerson preferred glimpses of truth to digested systems. He believed man's power to lies in instinct, which was superior to man's Will. Man could not be a Naturalist in the Transcendental scheme of things until he satisfied all the demands of the Spirit -- those demands he defined as love, perception, and prayer.

In a letter from George W. Curtis to Isaac Hecker on August 4, 1844, Curtis had written of Emerson:

He Emerson is a fervent disciple of the Intellect, as all the great are. The Intellect discerns Truth, & its servants are the harbingers of Wisdom. Their's are the feet which are beautiful upon the mountains more beautiful when the heart transfigures the Truth into Love & so makes the wise man sing rather than recite, as the purely Intellectual do. <sup>3</sup>

Emerson urged people to develop their personal potentialities through intuition, insight and poetic vision as opposed to the acquisition of scientific knowledge. Emerson further asserted that: "The farm, by training the physical rectifies and invigorates the metaphysical and moral nature."<sup>4</sup> Although he never joined the experiment he felt that the experiment would elevate the individual participant's spirit.

Emerson likewise saw intuition in action. In his essay entitled "Intellect" he says that:

Our spontaneous action is always the best. You cannot with your best deliberation and heed come so close to any

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<sup>3</sup>A letter from George W. Curtis to Isaac Hecker, August 4, 1844 from Concord, (New York: Paulist Fathers' Archives).

<sup>4</sup>Edward W. Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds., The Journals of Ralph W. Emerson (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1909-1914), p. 252.

question as your spontaneous glance will bring you. . . . We have little control over our thoughts. We are the prisoners of ideas. They catch us up for moments into their heaven and so fully engage us that we take no thought for the morrow, gaze like children without an effort to make them our own. . . . Every man's progress is through a succession of teachers, each of whom seems at the time to have a superlative influence, but it at last gives place to a new. Frankly let him accept it all. . . . Who leaves all, receives more. This is as true intellectually as morally. Each new mind we approach seems to require an abdication of all our past and present possessions. 5

If one links up some of Emerson's ideas caught in his various works one finds some interesting considerations. Emerson's first book was entitled Nature and one of his other essays was "Experience." One of John Dewey's books was entitled Experience and Nature. Emerson repeatedly advocated the experimental life: "All life is an experiment. The more experiments you make the better."<sup>6</sup> While these notions carry somewhat of a scientific attitude his Transcendental philosophy of intuition, in its pure form, denied the fundamental tenet of modern science -- that knowledge can only originate in observation and can only be verified by experiment. He was not concerned with the social aspect, as was Dewey, but rather the personal experience, which the individual mentally reacted towards. In his essay on "Discipline" Emerson indicates that all our daily experiences in nature give us lessons, whose

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<sup>5</sup>Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson (New York: Wm. H. Wise and Company, 1929), pp. 224-228.

<sup>6</sup>Emerson, Journals, 6:362.



meaning is unlimited; and that these experiences educate both the Understanding and the Reason.

### Reason and Understanding

The chief idea which Emerson derived from Kant was the distinction between the Transcendental "Reason" and the empirical "understanding."<sup>7</sup> While "Reason" described "the intuitions of the mind itself," it opposed sensational empiricism and mechanical logic, which appears to be a rejection of Lockean ideas. The problem Emerson had is that he misinterpreted Kant; for Kant warned that this "pure" Reason could not be applied practically to the world of the senses, but Emerson began equating Transcendental "intuition" with "instinct."<sup>8</sup>

Emerson's Transcendentalism was not philosophically pure but was a compounding of the supernatural and the natural -- a problem he constantly tried to reconcile.

### The Epistemology of Ripley

George Ripley referred to himself as a child of Channing,

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<sup>7</sup>Frederic Ives Carpenter, Emerson Handbook (New York: Hendricks House, Inc., 1953), p. 126.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

and so he shared the essential views of the great minister.<sup>9</sup> Channing and Ripley were accused by their critics of rash speculation. Perhaps the following remark was the type that gave Channing's critics their ammunition:

We believed, that the human mind is akin to that intellectual energy which gave birth to nature, and consequently that it contains within itself the seminal and prolific principles from which nature sprung. We believe, too, that the highest purpose of the universe is to furnish materials, scope, and excitements to the mind, in the work of assimilating itself to the Infinite Spirit; that is, to minister to a progress within us, which nothing without us can rival. So transcendent is the mind.<sup>10</sup>

The Transcendental philosophy to which Ripley held asserted that there was an intuitive faculty in human nature which clearly discerned spiritual truths. This notion was in contradistinction to the beliefs at the time, "which declared that spiritual knowledge came by special grace and was in essence proven by the divine miracles."<sup>11</sup>

From this notion of spiritual enlightenment and the influence received by the great Dr. Channing, Ripley is found saying:

We can have no doubt that religion will always be perpetuated by the same causes which first gave it existence. We regard it as an emanation from the Eternal Mind. These attributes (eternity, unchangeableness) are applied to our Saviour, because his mind was so filled and penetra-

<sup>9</sup> Octavius Brooks Frothingham, George Ripley (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882), p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Channing, Discourses, Reviews, and Miscellanies, p. 189.

<sup>11</sup> John Thomas Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1894), p. 4.

ted with the power of religious truth as to be identical with it as existing in Divine Mind, -- as to be the truth, as well as the way and the life. <sup>12</sup>

These opinions were considered dangerous and radical at the time since they opposed the view that man was depraved and a creature of sin. Ripley is found to truly be a child of Channing's in that he too promoted intuitive truth from Divine Mind.

### A Posteriori Versus A Priori

The Farmers seem to have held the A Priori judgment in theory and the A Posteriori in practice; that is, while they searched mentally for insightful Truth, they carried out daily activities based on experience. I believe once again that there was a reconciliation between the two. Although the Farmers held little belief in innate ideas, they did believe that man had potential for a great many things which were unknown to him but became known through experience. Brook Farm allowed the freedom for these experiences which were different for each individual and were sought by interest. From mental analyzation of these experiences, or in other words beyond cognition they believed insight possible and glimpses of Truth inevitable.

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<sup>12</sup>Frothingham, George Ripley, p. 48.

Epistemology as Part of the Brook Farm Plan

Ripley sought his community to be one where "thought would preside over the operations of labor, and labor would contribute to the expansion of thought."<sup>13</sup> It was his hope to promote "industry without drudgery, and true equality without its vulgarity."<sup>14</sup> He hoped to see man elevated to his spiritual heights, which Ripley felt would come about only through understanding and insight.

Knowledge at the Farm was not limited to that which might be gained from books. There were many opportunities for teachers to enlarge upon favorite themes. Whether the Farmers believed that the more comprehensive the system of knowledge and the more consistent the ideas it embraces, the more truth it may be said to possess is debatable. What is factual is that they believed man capable of reflecting divine spirit and thus able to pursue knowledge beyond the scientific, which seems to go beyond Emerson's reconciliation of the natural and supernatural.

The Farmers did feel that theirs was a continuously developing system of knowledge, but did not feel that future knowledge was limited to the boundaries of an antiquated system nor a restrictive one.

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<sup>13</sup>Edith Roelker Curtis, A Season in Utopia (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961), pp. 53-54.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

While a great deal of time was spent in academic conversation, developing hypotheses, and seeking debatable flashes of insight, much time was spent during instruction in drilling in the habit of paying attention. The cultivation of this habit could be seen in all classes of the Brook Farm educational system. It was held that the power of concentrating the whole force of the mind on one object is a native gift. Those endowed with this gift were destined for high careers. They did point out, however, that the habit could be developed to some adequate proportion; thus although the habit was less efficient than the inborn gift, it could become second nature to the individual. What is seen in the habit of paying attention is the possibility for discovery and not mere observation; in other words the concentrated mind thoroughly analyzes and goes beyond the sense data, which in turn would take intuition into account.

Georgiana Bruce Kirby held that:

The old system . . . poured everything into the memory and kept pouring, without reference to natural capacity and powers of digestion and assimilation. The new plan was precisely the opposite of this: viz, to evolve all out of a open mind by appealing to intuition and reason. <sup>15</sup>

From this statement it would seem that the Farmers believed that whenever we make a judgment and affirm that something has such and such a character, these characters are

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<sup>15</sup> Georgianna Bruce, "Reminiscences of Brook Farm," Old and New, p. 436.

wholly present as the content of the immediately felt intuitive states of the self which makes the judgment.

Man's power and freedom were considered to be within him as long as he did not let himself become a slave to external forces and factors or to his sensations and habits. The child-centered approach to education was well known and in constant use at the Farm. The Farmers felt that by letting all persons choose their own department of action that the "Genius of instruction" would immediately be put on its throne.<sup>16</sup> They believed that knowledge pours itself out upon ignorance by a native impulse.<sup>17</sup> The intuitive state was a creative force which allowed man to use his intellect to his best advantage.

The Farmers' search for truth was not a cold isolated pursuit. This search appears to have been a religious experience; but only religious in a spiritual non-dogmatic sense. There was an instinctive intuition of the Divine, of the Just and Right, a consciousness that there is a Moral Law, and the consciousness that the essential element of man, that being, individuality, never dies. Thus, freedom was a necessary tenet.

The Farmers honestly valued thought for its own sake.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Elizabeth P. Peabody, "Plan of the West Roxbury Community," The Dial 2(January, 1842):366.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Frothingham, Transcendentalism in New England, p. 114.

A creed or a system of philosophy was absent from Brook Farm, but their constitution and attitude took their place.

Frothingham says:

Rather were they open inquirers, who asked questions and waited for rational answers, having no definite apprehension of the issue to which their investigations tended, but with room enough within the accepted theology to satisfy them, and work enough on the prevailing doctrines to keep them employed. . . . instead of a creed; the right to judge all creeds; instead of a system, authority to try every system by rules of evidence. . . . 19

The Farmers' epistemology was in line with their axiology. The spontaneity and freedom were so evident that an outside observer must have wondered at times how they got on. The secret seems to have been in their unified belief in the potential perfection of man. Ripley felt that the educational theory of the day was a failure, because it did not base social psychology on a knowledge of instincts, moral drives, and motivations.<sup>20</sup>

### Epistemological Definitions

#### in Summary

A definition can be brought together from the epistemological beliefs of Channing, Emerson, and Ripley. The definition is that knowledge comes from experience, but that those experiences that obtain most knowledge are mental experiences rather than experiences of sensation. Thus, these Idealists

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

rejected the Lockean belief that all knowledge comes through sensation, and placed emphasis on the coupling of mental apprehension, insight, cognition, and the elevation of the "spirit" of man. By rejecting sensation they rejected the industrial age as being unreal and giving a false impression of man and his place in society and the world.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY

The Brook Farm movement was the result of social unrest in New England during the mid-nineteenth century. The dream of a utopia was continually present, with the wish that some magic formula would be derived for solving the social evils of the day.

The depression of 1837 caused great social unrest in the United States and tended to give social impetus to the discussions held by New England intellectuals.

Prior to the depression Dr. William Ellery Channing had spoken of the need for the construction of an ideal society where moral virtue would be central to the values of that society. Thus, moral social reform became a topic of concern manifesting itself in discussion and publications. Through these avenues came the realization of an active reform movement.

New England notables, like George Ripley, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William Ellery Channing formed a Club for the sole purpose of meeting and discussing the social problems of the day and bringing forth possible solutions to those problems. As the meetings continued, meeting at irregular times, other notables such as Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Peabody, Frederick Hedge, attended. With additional meetings

came the notion that flashes of insight were helpful in finding solutions to the problems that victimized the individuals that made up society.

With urging of Club members in general and Dr. Channing in particular, George Ripley forged ahead to put the theories of the Club into practice. Dr. W. E. Channing appears to have been the greatest influence on Ripley in starting a community of like minded individuals who would cooperate in developing a social moral community.

The Farm was to be Ripley's vehicle for social reorganization. He wanted, by combining the worker and the intellectual, to elevate the spirit of man. Yet there was really little organization prior to 1843 at the Farm. Ripley along with a hand-full of enthusiastic followers set out to create what many called "The New Harmony" of West Roxbury. Ripley was blinded by his enthusiasm when he said that he wanted to form a community of like-minded individuals. It would have been better if he had qualified that statement, for the Brook Farmers were hardly anything but like-minded people. They all had strong personalities, and individuals they were. They all agreed on cooperation and freedom, but their characteristic differences set them at intellectual odds with one another; each tried to convince the other he was correct in his opinion.

Nevertheless, the community struggled along; Ripley and friends maintained their enthusiasm. When economic problems

beset the community other solutions were considered. Brisbane offered Fourier as a means to reorganize the Farm, and although the Farmers declined many of the French social reformer's ideas they did accept those which lent themselves to creating a structure which they felt would put them back on the road to success and fulfillment.

The school had been the main source of income at the Farm since the land often provided less than what was necessary for the Farmers to live on. Education focused on process rather than learning mere facts. Their axiological notions of cooperation and freedom were demonstrated time and again in the school as part of the normal routine.

The important thing to note is that students felt or ✓ were aware of the seriousness of the experiment and respected the elders for it. Another point is that many of the boys were therein preparation for Harvard, hence they studied on their own. Many girls, who attended the Brook Farm school, came or were sent knowing that they would get a better education than they would get in most any other school system at the time.

No sound proof exists which indicates whether the Brook ✓ Farm experiment had any influence on American education, but what I think can be asserted is that it was a cog in the wheel of the developing American educational system which would promote democracy in education, and provided a wider consider-

ation for what American education could become.

In this sense and to this degree it can probably be asserted that those who experienced Brook Farm never forgot Brook Farm in their future experiences because of the influence it had on all the participants lives.

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## APPENDIX A

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF BROOK FARMERS AND FREQUENT VISITORS

#### William B. Allen

William B. Allen was one of the trustees, along with Hawthorne, Ripley, and Dana at Brook Farm. Allen also owned shares number 7, 8, and 9 of the Farm. These shares amounted to a \$1500 investment.

#### Anna G. Alvord

Mrs. Anna G. Alvord was responsible for building the Cottage at Brook Farm, a building constructed in the form of a Maltese cross.<sup>1</sup> She reserved part of the house for herself, but put most of it in the hands of active members.<sup>2</sup>

#### John Albion Andrew

John A. Andrew was born on May 31, 1818. He was only an occasional visitor to the Farm but eventually became war governor of Massachusetts during the Civil War.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lindsay Swift, Brook Farm (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900), p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>John Thomas Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs (Boston: Arena Publishing Co., 1894), p. 80.



Stephen Pearl Andrews

1812-1886

Stephen P. Andrews was born on March 22, 1812, and died on May 21, 1886. He was an occasional visitor to the Farm and did some writing for The Harbinger. His importance to the movement is minimal.

Andrews founded "Universology," a deductive science of the universe.<sup>4</sup> He died believing that the social millennium, that he had striven for, was close at hand.<sup>5</sup>

Peter Baldwin

Peter Baldwin succeeded Isaac Hecker as baker-general at the Farm.<sup>6</sup>

George Bancroft

1800-1891

George Bancroft was born on October 3, 1800 and died on January 17, 1891.

While no evidence seems to exist showing that Bancroft

<sup>4</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Andrews, Stephen Pearl."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>John Van Der Zee Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm (New York: Desmond FitzGerald, Inc., 1912), p. 84.

even visited the Farm, he had been a teacher of F. H. Hedge.<sup>7</sup>  
He was also a member of the Club.<sup>8</sup>

George, Jr. and John Bancroft

Two sons of George Bancroft Sr. were George Jr. and John Bancroft. They were pupils in the primary department at Brook Farm.<sup>9</sup>

Thomas Blake

Blake was a member of the community, who was given the title of "Admiral" because he wore a nautical hat.<sup>10</sup>

Popelston Booth

Popelston Booth was a member of the community. In Ripley's "Series Account of Time" Booth is indicated as beginning work on August 2nd 1844.<sup>11</sup>

John S. Brown

John S. Brown was a teacher at the Farm, being in charge of the theoretical and practical agriculture, that covered a

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<sup>7</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>11</sup>Clarence Gohdes, "A Brook Farm Labor Record," American Literature 1(November, 1929):300.

period of three years.<sup>12</sup>

J. Butterfield

Mr. J. Butterfield was one member of the "group" of printers at the Farm.<sup>13</sup>

Frederick S. Cabot

A member of the Farm who headed up the "group" of waiters.<sup>14</sup> It is also noted that he was employed in the book-keeping department.<sup>15</sup>

Ephraim Capen

Ephraim Capen was the "Parson" at Brook Farm.<sup>16</sup> "He was educated for the ministry, but lacked sufficient orthodoxy to preach dutifully the doctrine of eternal punishment."<sup>17</sup>

Lemuel Capen

Lemuel Capen was one of the original signers of the first Brook Farm Constitution.<sup>18</sup> Thus, he was one of the Farm's first members.

<sup>12</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup>Zoltan Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm (Boston: Trustees of the Boston Public Library, 1937), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 122. <sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>18</sup>Codman, Brook Farm: Historic and Personal Memoirs, p. 15.

Benjamin Champney

A visitor to the Farm was Benjamin Champney, who by trade was an artist.<sup>19</sup>

Ramon Cita

Ramon Cita was one of eight Spanish boys from Manila who was sent to the Farm school to prepare for Harvard.<sup>20</sup>

Charles Codman

Charles Codman was the older brother of John Thomas Codman. Charles came to the Farm in 1843 with his parents, brother and a sister named Rebecca.

Swift says that Charles H. ". . . lived to carry his early imbibed principles into the conduct of his picture shop."<sup>21</sup> His part in the Brook Farm experiment appears minimal though he lived there for nearly three years. He died in an accident on September 18, 1883.

Hannah S. Colson

Mrs. Hannah S. Colson was a member of the association

<sup>19</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 204.

<sup>20</sup>Sears, My Friends at Brook Farm, pp. 53-54.

<sup>21</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 82.

and the wife of N. H. Colson, a shoemaker at the Farm.<sup>22</sup>

### N. H. Colson

N. H. Colson was a shoemaker at the Farm.<sup>23</sup> He was also a member of the association.

### Lucas and Jose Corrales

Lucas and Jose Corrales were Spanish brothers from Manila, who were sent to be pupils at the Farm.<sup>24</sup> Lucas had been a leper and was cared for by Mrs. Ripley.<sup>25</sup>

### Lizzie Curson

Miss Lizzie Curson came from Newburyport and became chief of the Dormitory Group for more than two years at the Farm.<sup>26</sup> She eventually married John Andrews Hoxie, a carpenter at the Farm.<sup>27</sup>

Miss Curson was declared by her admirer, George W. Curtis, as one of the Farm's "prettiest flowers" and "a much prized helper."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Gohdes, "A Brook Farm Labor Record," American Literature, 301.

<sup>23</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 119.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 72.    <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 140.    <sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 135.

James Burrill Curtis

James Burrill Curtis was the brother of George William Curtis. Burrill became a member and pupil of the Farm.<sup>29</sup>

Dr. John and Mary Dwight

Dr. John and Mary Dwight were parents of John S., Marianne, and Francis Dwight. Dr. John was the physican in residence at the Farm while Mary went into the laundry operation.<sup>30</sup>

(?) Eaton

Eaton was a member of the Farm who was called "Old Solidarity" by the inhabitants.<sup>31</sup>

Charles M. Ellis

Mr. Charles M. Ellis was a wealthy butcher and dairy farmer.<sup>32</sup> He sold one hundred and seventy acres of land known as the "Ellis Farm" and another parcel, which was called "Keith lot," to the Farmers at a cost of \$10,500.<sup>33</sup> "Keith

<sup>29</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Curtis, George William."

<sup>30</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, pp. 232-233.

<sup>31</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 66.

<sup>32</sup>Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 19.

lot" consisted of twenty-two additional acres of land.<sup>34</sup> The Farm had been a dairy area, and eight milk cows, pigs and chickens went with the parcel.<sup>35</sup> The Ripleys had spent a few vacations at the "Ellis Farm" before George decided to put into practice what Emerson and Channing had been suggesting.

### Abby Foord

A member of the Brook Farm community was Abby Foord.

### James Lloyd Fuller

James L. Fuller was the youngest brother of Margaret Fuller.<sup>36</sup> He attended school at Brook Farm when he was 14 years old.<sup>37</sup> In a description he is given as being "very large for his age and as awkward as he was large."<sup>38</sup>

### Cornelia Hall

Cornelia Hall's nickname at the Farm was "Camilla."<sup>39</sup> Miss Hall did not live at the Farm but boarded for varying periods of time.<sup>40</sup> In the evenings she would give dramatic readings for the enjoyment of the Farmers.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 54.

<sup>36</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 72.

<sup>37</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 58.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 119.      <sup>40</sup>Ibid.      <sup>41</sup>Ibid.

Buckley Hastings

Buckley Hastings was associated with John Glover Drew in the shipping and purveying department at the Farm.<sup>42</sup>

Frederic Henry Hedge

Hedge was born on December 12, 1805.<sup>43</sup> He never joined the Brook Farm experiment but was active in the Club. Emerson would even call the Club "Hedge's Club" because it was likely to meet when Hedge, the only member who read Kant in the original -- came down from Bangor where he was a Unitarian minister.<sup>44</sup>

Hedge was also a reinforcer of Ripley's plan to begin a community, when he said to Ripley:

I preach every Sunday and what good is it? We must live our preaching. Perhaps if we establish a school as Mr. Ripley plans, we can surround the children with ideas and examples that will show them the soul's goodness and the true destiny of man.<sup>45</sup>

Hedge lived to be eighty-five and never stopped thinking that German philosophy would enrich American life.<sup>46</sup>

Charles Hosmer

Hosmer was a member of the Farm who was said to have "the

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>43</sup>DAB, 4th ed., s.v. "Hedge, Frederic Henry."

<sup>44</sup>Curtis, A Season in Utopia, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 33. <sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>47</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 119.



cranial development of a Webster."<sup>47</sup>

John Anderson Hoxie

John Anderson Hoxie was a carpenter at the Farm.<sup>48</sup>

Caroline A. Kittredge

Miss Caroline A. Kittredge was a pupil-worker at the Farm.<sup>49</sup>

Peter N. Kleinstrup

Peter N. Kleinstrup had been well educated and became an excellent botanist.<sup>50</sup> John Codman became his assistant in this line of work at the Farm.<sup>51</sup>

George C. Leach

George C. Leach was one of the first members of the Farm and one of the original signers of the Farm's constitution.<sup>52</sup> He and his wife left in 1843 to open a Grahamite hotel.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 119.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 127. <sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>50</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 245.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

### Christopher List

His nickname at the Farm was "Chrysalis."<sup>54</sup> Christopher List helped Miss Curson in caring for visitors.<sup>55</sup>

### Abby Morton

Miss Abby Morton, later Mrs. Diaz, along with Georgianna Bruce acted as teachers in the Farm's Infant School.<sup>56</sup>

### Ichabod Morton

Ichabod Morton built the Pilgrim House at the Farm hoping that his family would join him.<sup>57</sup> After a brief residence of two weeks he returned to Plymouth, and the dwelling passed into the hands of the Association, since Morton never returned.<sup>58</sup> It is not known for sure if he was related to Abigail Morton.

### John Orvis

In late 1843 Orvis joined the Farm and worked with the earnestness of his Quaker ancestors.<sup>59</sup> Cheever had referred to Orvis as "John Almighty."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 119.    <sup>55</sup>Ibid.    <sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 33.    <sup>58</sup>Ibid.    <sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

In 1845 Orvis was part of the group of waiters at the Farm that was headed by Fred S. Cabot.<sup>61</sup> When Fourierism came to the Farm, Orvis left to lecture throughout the country in its behalf.<sup>62</sup>

Jean M. Pallisse

Jean Pallisse was a Swiss engineer who became a member of the Farm.<sup>63</sup>

Hannah Ripley

A niece of Dr. Ripley's who taught drawing at the Farm.<sup>64</sup>

Marianne Ripley

George Ripley's sister who presided over the primary department at the Farm.<sup>65</sup>

Mary and Samuel Robbins

Mary and Samuel Robbins were two of the first members of the Farm, and two of the signers of Brook Farm's original constitution.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup>Haraszti, The Idyll of Brook Farm, p. 7.

<sup>62</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 176.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 126. <sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 73. <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

Amelia Russell

A member of the Farm was Miss Amelia Russell who taught dancing while at the Farm.<sup>67</sup>

Mrs. Ryckman

Mrs. Ryckman was a hostess and attended to the women visitors at the Farm.<sup>68</sup>

Miss Sarah F. Stearns

Miss Sarah F. Stearns was a niece of Mrs. Ripley and was a worker-pupil at the Farm.<sup>69</sup>

George Duncan Wells

George D. Wells was a fifteen year old pupil at the Farm.<sup>70</sup> He eventually became a colonel in the Union Army.<sup>71</sup>

Mary Ann Williams

Miss Mary Ann Williams was the only death reported at the Farm.<sup>72</sup> It is believed that when she came to the Farm she had "incipient tuberculosis."<sup>73</sup>

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 48.      <sup>68</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-120.

<sup>69</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 55.

<sup>70</sup>Swift, Brook Farm, p. 83.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Burton, Paradise Planters, p. 208.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

## APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation submitted by Charles E. Alberti has been read and approved by the following Committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 19, 1975  
Date

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